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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

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It is under the joint editorship of Professor D. T. Cole, Mr. Julius Lewin, and Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys.

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Editors
J. CLYDE MITCHELL
ELIZABETH COLSON and MAX GLUCKMAN

Published on behalf of
THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE
by the
MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS
1955

Published on behalf of
THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE
by the
MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS
316–324, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER, 13
1955

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

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A LUNDA LOVE STORY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: SELECTED TEXTS FROM TRADITIONS COLLECTED BY HENRIQUE DIAS DE CARVALHO AT THE COURT OF MWATIANVWA IN 1887

translated and annotated by
V. W. TURNER

IN 1884 a Portuguese expedition under the command of Major Henrique de Carvalho set out from Loanda to visit the capital of the great Central African potentate Mwatianvwa [1] of the Lunda to collect ethnographic, historical and linguistic information about his mighty state, at that time already in decline and in 1885 overrun by Cokwe [2] invaders. Carvalho recorded numerous legends and traditions of the Lunda people [3] from the emigré aristocrats, who dwelt wistfully on their former grandeur. The tales relating to the origin and spread of the Lunda state and the factional struggles that led to the creation of new tribal groups under the leadership of dissident Lunda royals have an intrinsic charm and an epic simplicity and vigour to which Carvalho renders full justice. Good stories in themselves, they also throw light on the historical interconnections of the royal families and lineages of dozens of Central African peoples in Angola, the Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia. Carvalho's book [4] has, regrettably, never been translated into English in spite of its historical and literary merits. The excerpts given below provide a useful supplement to the excellent article on 'The Balovale Peoples and their Historical Background' by C. M. N. White, which appeared in *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, Number Eight*. They are taken from Carvalho's first chapter, 'The Origin of the Peoples of Lunda' (pp. 58–112). A critical commentary, based on my personal knowledge of Southern

[1] The spelling of this title in the literature on Central Africa varies as widely as that of the name 'Shakespeare' in Elizabethan writings. Here are a few of the variants: *Mwata Yamvo, Mwata Yanvo, Mwata Yavo, Mwanchianvwa, Mwachiamvwa, Mwata Jamvo, Muatianvua, Muata Yanvo, Mwantiyanvwa.* There are two major sources of variation: the European language employed by the narrator—the Portuguese, for example, prefer *Muatiânvua* or *Muata Yanvo* and the Germans *Mwata Jamvo*—and the African language or dialect from which he took the term, i.e. Southern Lunda use *Mwantiyanvwa*. I use *Mwatianvwa*, the anglicized version of Carvalho's *Muatiânvua*.

[2] Other spellings found: *Tchokwe, Chibokwe, Kiokos, Quiocos.*

[3] Variants on the word *Lunda* include *Luunda, Luwunda* or *Luhunda, Londa* and *Lounda*, with prefixes *Ba-, Ma-, U-, Va-*, etc.

[4] Dias de Carvalho, H.A., *Ethnographia e Historia Tradicional dos Povos da Lunda*, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional (1890).

Lunda [1] traditions, is inserted at appropriate points in the text. In translation I give Carvalho's rendering of vernacular terms and proper nouns followed, in brackets, by the modern equivalents in common use. For references to authorities, the bibliography at the end of the article should be consulted.

The Origin of the Luba, Bungo and Lunda Peoples

In pp. 54–6 of his book Carvalho speculates as to the origin of the congeries of peoples to the east of the Kasai river and cites local traditions to the effect that they came ' from the north-east ', from the region of the great lakes. At this point I take up his narrative :

Here is the tradition : a tribe of hunters [2] coming from the great lakes in the north [Lakes Albert, Edward and Kivu ?—V. W. T.] penetrated the virgin bush, crossed the Congo river, camping near its great tributary (Lomami ?—H. C.) and in the forest between these rivers, where they saw many indications of game. They explored the country round about and met small groups of people here and there.

Kalundo, chief of that tribe, a man who had abandoned his own people because his claim there to the succession had been postponed, together with his followers founded a new state called *Luba*.

Other peoples coming from the north joined them, enlarging the new state, and other states came into being in the territory between the lakes and the more southerly tributaries of the Congo, among them the state of the *Bungos* (Tubungu), between the Lubilashi and Luiza rivers. These appear to have reached this area earlier than the Luba for they were encountered by the latter in the same locality they inhabit today, in a relatively primitive state of development.

The Bungos, although already familiar with iron, employed the sling, whereas the Lubas knew how to use the bow and arrow, denoting their greater degree of advancement.

[1] The Southern Lunda of South-west Katanga Province of the Belgian Congo and adjacent territory in North-western Rhodesia and Angola include the Lunda of Chiefs Kanongesha, Musokantanda and Ishinde. I did fieldwork among the Lunda of Chiefs Kanongesha and Sailunga (a sub-chief of Musokantanda —whose capital is now near Musonoi in the Belgian Congo) in Mwinilunga District, Northern Rhodesia, in 1950–2, and again in 1953–4.

[2] There are numerous traditions ascribing the foundation of Central and West Central African states and the creation of an aristocratic class to hunters ; in addition to the Luba and Lunda, the Ovimbundu of Bihe (Viye), became centralized states under the leadership of hunters. According to Capello and Ivens (Capello and Ivens, Vol. 2, p. 69) the ' real ' aristocracy among the Jinga was composed of hunters and warriors. Baumann points out that the *muri* class of nobles among the Mbala were hunters. Torday writes that ' the chief character in the peculiar politico-religious revolution which resulted in the institution of the *riamba* cult among the Bashi-lange was a hunter, and the *pakassero* revolutionary society [*sic*] of Ladislau Magyar (p. 266) was a society of hunters.' Even where they were not aristocrats hunters had great prestige, as among the Mwinilunga Lunda-Ndembu and the Mbwela of southern Mwinilunga.—V. W. T.

This [early] Luba state had a similar fate to those further north: it was divided up by various invaders, and its last potentate, Mutombu Muculu (*mutombu mukulu*, 'the old tree'), recognizing its decline, advised his sons Cassongo (Kasongu), Canhiuca (Kanioka), Ilunga and Mai, to go and find new lands and better fortune in the more elevated land, following the courses of the rivers, and there to establish new states, offering each other mutual protection; they could now hope for nothing from himself or the land.

This was the cause which led shortly afterwards to the foundation of the states (Portuguese *estados*) of Cassongo and Canhiuca, divided by the Lualaba from each other, a fact that indicates that Cassongo went off towards the lacustrine region, while Canhiuca did not cross beyond the region between the rivers.

Ilunga and Mai continued in the company of the old Mutombu, Ilunga acting in the place of his older brother Cassongo as the appointed successor or *Suana Mulopo* (*Swana Mulopu* or *Swana Mulohwe*) of the potentate.

The Bungos, however, used to live grouped in distinct peoples, each governed independently by its own chief, entitled 'lord or owner (*senhor*) of the state', who possessed as a mark of distinction, the *lucano* (S. Lunda *lukanu*) bracelet made of human veins. This is the special insignia of these peoples, and distinguishes the lord from the slave.

The chiefs of these peoples were relatives and all heard and respected the most senior, Iala Macu (*iyala maku*, 'mother or source of stones'), a cognomen given him because he had been a good hurler of stones.[1]

The Bungos were fishermen rather than hunters,[2] but for both hunting and fishing they used traps, still much employed today [1887] and which they make without the aid of iron tools.

The Bungos from beyond the Mulungo, a tributary of the Cajidixi (Kajidishi or Kadishi), still work iron and copper in a very rudimentary way; however, these, like the other Bungos, show no sign of having been pastoralists, which makes one suppose that there

[1] Among the Southern Lunda today *iyala* means 'a man', and the name Iyala Maku is understood by them to mean 'Man Maku'. The description 'mother of stones' probably refers to the fact that Maku is considered by Lunda to be 'the source of chiefs', the term *ilola*, 'stone', being frequently used by Southern Lunda as a metaphor or euphemism for chief. See also p. 9 below for the use of stone as a symbol for chieftainship.—V. W. T.

[2] Torday claims that the Bungo were dominantly agriculturalists and mentions that 'we are told distinctly at a later date that the Lunda were not hunters'. It would seem that hunters, possessing a less highly developed mode of subsistence, imposed themselves on peoples with more advanced agricultural techniques throughout the Southern Congo-Angolan area. The fact that the ruling group were hunters and warriors rather than cultivators tied to the land must have been an advantage to them in the epoch of migration and tribal expansion following the founding of the Luba and Lunda states.—V. W. T.

was enough game to divert their attention from the task of cattle-keeping.[1]

The main seat of these peoples, or rather the residence of Iala, even today, is considered to be Calanhi (Nkalanyi) between the Calanhi and Cajidixi rivers.

Iala, by his first wife Conti or Condi (*Nkondi yaMateti* according to the Southern Lunda), had two sons, Quinguri (Chinguli or Kinguri) and Iala and a daughter, Lueji (Luweji Ankonde), to whom her mother's name was given as a surname.

The Tale of the Turbulent Sons and the Devoted Daughter

When they grew up the sons became idle and gave themselves up to excessive drinking; these habits later gave rise to disturbances and upheavals in the state. They abused their position, molesting and despoiling the people. For this reason, their father as he became advanced in years and infirm, sought to procure the succession after him of a nephew whom he much esteemed and who was considered by the elders to be a man capable of governing the people.

This was made known to the sons, and on one occasion when the old man was amusing himself, according to custom (even chiefs used to pass the time in this way among the Bungos), by making a coarse grass mat of *jinzumbi* (the '*angoa*' of the Ambaquistas) in his private courtyard, they entered the enclosure, inflamed with liquor, and went straight towards their father, who ignored them and went on with his work.

The old man had at his side a wooden bowl containing water of a milky colour to soften the interlacing strands of *angoa* and bend them with the greatest ease to the needs of the work. The sons, maddened by palm beer (*malufo*), taking that water for beer began to insult the old man, proclaiming that they would steal 'the corrupting *malufo*', and then go begging from village to village, because they were hungry.

The father, although outraged by such insolence and lack of tact, did no more than raise his eyes to the older son and shrug his shoulders. The latter then, with no more hesitation, raised his *musunhi* (*musunyi*), a kind of rough stick, and beat a tattoo of blows on the venerable head which laid him flat on the ground before he had time to cry for help.

The sons continued to abuse him and volley crushing blows on him to prevent him from shouting at them, telling him that they had eaten sufficient in that state and would leave it for another, and it was only when they thought him speechless that, turning him over bathed in his own blood, they left him there totally abandoned and alone.

Their sister Lueji, returning later from her gardens with her

[1] Another and more important reason was, of course, the presence of the tsetse fly throughout this region.—V. W. T.

servants as was her wont, looked for her father to greet him, and not seeing him at home, proceeded to where she heard groans. She stood aghast at the lamentable spectacle she then beheld.

Guessing immediately what had happened, she contained her feelings in order to avoid a great conflict. She and her servants at once betook themselves to cleansing and healing the old man's wounds, then carried him to his hut and laid him down on a mat. Meanwhile she instructed other serving-women to call her relatives and other elders and neighbours, but strongly recommended them to refrain from a clamour of weeping.

Little by little she elicited from her father what had happened and told the news to the relatives who came at her call.

When all had been informed of the event, they agreed to her request not to abandon the old man during the night, for she feared that the brothers might return to torture him and perhaps to terminate his existence.

The relatives and elders each undertook to send notice of what had occurred to the neighbouring [Bungo] chiefs, and before dawn the most important of them were by the side of the dying Iala.

The latter recognized his own dangerous condition and made them all come near to inform them of his last wishes.

He had for a long time past given much thought as to the one who should succeed him, for he had not found in his sons the necessary capacity to govern the state. But after what had just happened he asked all his friends and relatives to meet together and recognize his daughter as sole heir and mistress of the lands that by the friendship of the chiefs had joined together to form a new state.[1]

Iala Macu then surrendered the *lucano* (*lukanu*) bracelet to Lueji

[1] Here Carvalho adds the following footnote : ' In this way the Lunda explain the title of *Swana Murunda* or *Mulunda*, which still exists today, its incumbent being nominated by the Mwatianvwa, standing for the person of Lueji-lua-Conti (Luweji Ankonde), " the heiress of the land called Lunda (Luwunda) ", a name taken from the " friendship " (*runda*, according to Carvalho, *wulunda* in Southern Lunda) which reigned between the chiefs of the Bungo states, who amalgamated to form the new state, which at that time in its most populous part did not stretch beyond 8° and 9° S. Lat. and between 23° and 24° E. Long.'

Verhulpen, however, claims that the title *Swana Mulunda* was conferred on the mothers of the reigning Mwatianvwas to commemorate the love (*wulunda*) between Lueji and Ilunga described below. But Carvalho's account is probably correct since among the Southern Lunda at any rate *wulunda* refers to blood-friendship couched in kinship terms between individuals of the same sex. One's *mulunda* is a ' blood-brother ' or ' blood-sister ', not a lover.

It would seem that before the dynastic struggles in the chieftainship of Iala, the Bungo chieftainships formed a loose federation with a council of chiefs in which Iala Macu was merely *primus inter pares*. The events subsequently described provide a mythological charter for the establishment of a centralized state for the attainment of which the Bungos made a voluntary renunciation of much of their local autonomy. Evidently the Lunda state was not a ' conquest state ', if there is any truth in the widespread traditions about its inception. —V. W. T.

that it might be placed on the arm of the man whom her heart might choose to be the father of her sons, who would be of her blood and would succeed her.

Iala considered his daughter still to be very young, and consequently he asked the chiefs to act as her councillors and to deliberate nothing without each giving his opinion. He beseeched them to deal in some way with his cruel sons and to thwart the machinations they would employ to gain control of the state.

The Centralization of the Bungo State

When the old man died, the *Xacala*,[1] as the people call him, and the now united chiefs of the various [Bungo] states, met together and mindful of the late chief's last wishes and fearing the evil instincts of the sons they decided that all those who formed part of the court should have their representatives with their families in the circle of the *anganda* [2] of Lueji. These representatives were called *tuxalapoli* (*tushalapoli*) [3] and *tumbaje* (*tumbanji*).

These representatives were to be appointed by Lueji from among the [Bungo] chiefs, and she would also appoint the *Xacala* and the other authorities who looked after her security.

The *quipangas* are always made along the line of their major axis from east to west, the front being to the east.

The people living in the front portion are called *messu* (*mesu*), ' the eyes ' of the *quipanga*, and those to the rear *mazembe* (*mazembi*) ' the tail '. Those at the sides (flanks) are called *macalas* (*makala*), divided into right- and left-hand sides. Both *messu* and *mazembe* are regarded as places of supreme importance, and consequently control over them was exclusively confined to chiefs with command over large forces and who had the confidence of the potentate. The chief nominated to be in charge of the *messu* received the title of

[1] I was informed by Chief Ikelenge of the Southern Lunda-Ndembu that the *Nchakala* or *Nswanamumi*, literally ' successor of the living ', among the Lunda is a court official who acts as chief when the latter is away from his capital village visiting other chiefs or collecting tribute from his people. Ikelenge's *Nchakala* was his mother's brother.—V. W. T.

[2] Carvalho notes : ' *anganda* (*ng'anda*), interpreted to us both as " country or area of . . .", as well as " capital " in the whole of the (Kasai-Lualaba) region is the place where the potentate lives. The dwellings which surround it, themselves encircled by a great fence, constitute the *quipanga* (Southern Lunda *chipang'u*), meaning the fence or palisade, which, enclosing a rectangular space, is extended in a bow or curve (*muconde* or *mukondi*, " round, circular, spherical ").'

[3] Carvalho writes : ' *Tuxalapoli* is the plural of *caxalapoli* (*kashalapoli*), meaning " a junior who stays outside or further on " (*ka*, diminutive prefix—*shala* from *ku-shala*, " to remain or reside "—*poli* " outside "), " a vigilant one : a policeman ". *Tumbaje* is the plural of *kambaje* (*kambanji*), and means " a junior who has courage (Portuguese, *animo*, *coragem*)". *Tumbaje* are the ones who pass sentence and execute that sentence. Some interpret it as " executioners " but this does not fully give the sense.' Among the Southern Lunda, at the time of the migration into their present territories, the *Kambanji* was the senior war-leader of the Paramount Chief.—V. W. T.

Calala (*Kalala*), while the head of the *mazembe* was called *Canampumba* (*Kanampumba*).[1]

It was further decided among the chiefs that their representatives at court should take their own names and titles and that with their aid their mistress should distribute the presents they would send from their own areas.

They went on to give the *quipanga*, now augmented by the peoples allocated to the court, the name of *mussumba* (*musumba*), which might well be translated ' capital of the state ', although any provisional camp of the Mwatianvwa and his retinue on the march might also be so called.

Lueji, the *Suana Murunda*, satisfied with her tutelage in the government of the state, occupied herself in agricultural work with her *amilombes* (*amilombi*), ' girls in the personal service of wives of potentates ', and only appeared personally at audiences when the people strongly demanded her attendance. She also appeared to conduct state business, in which she simply confirmed the vote of the majority [of the councillors].

As time went on, Lueji showed her capacity for ruling and she came to take her place in the affections of the people.

The Lunda Love Story

Eventually, the old chiefs or *quilolos* [Southern Lunda *ayilolu*, a term which in Mwinilunga District is applied to important village headmen] to whose care she had been entrusted by her father, counselled her to take a man from among her relatives [probably a cross-cousin—V. W. T.] as her husband, since it was necessary to consider the question of succession.

But she did not find one of her own people who pleased her, and in the upshot she postponed her choice.

Meanwhile, Ilunga, son of Mutombo, potentate of the Luba, as soon as the latter had died and his funeral rites had been completed, being a great hunter (*chibinda*) assembled all his friends and got ready to explore the forests to the south. After due preparation they set off along the banks of the Cajidixi (Kajidishi or Kadishi). Ilunga took with him his *chimbuia* (*chimbuya*), a small ornamental axe, a symbol of authority pertaining to the office of *Mulopo* [2] (*mulopu*) of his father.

[1] Carvalho's footnote : ' In the case of *Calala* (*Kalala*), *ca* (*ka*) is the negative and *ku-lala* is " to sleep ", meaning " the sleepless one ", he is the authority who watches in the " eyes " (*mesu*). It is incumbent on the holder of this office to hold off the enemy from the front or van of the potentate, whence its further interpretation as " captain of the forces ". *Canampumba* (*kanampumba*) is from *ku-kana*, " to despatch ", and *pumba* (*mpumba*) " traitor ", " he who despatches traitors ": he is the commander of the rear-guard who defends the potentate from the enemies who try to attack him in the rear.'

Among the Ndembu of Kanongesha, the *Kalala* was an important headman who, together with *Mwanta waLuunda*, another powerful headman, used to command caravans taking tribute from Kanongesha to Mwatianvwa.—V. W. T.

[2] Carvalho notes : ' *Mulopo* signifies the successor of a potentate or the head of a family. After the coming of Chibinda Ilunga it was adopted by the Lunda,

Late one afternoon, when the sun was dipping below the horizon, the girls of Lueji went to bathe in the Cajidixi. They beheld a group of strange hunters coming down the right bank, bold lads and well armed with knives and arrows. They dashed out of the water and tried to hide themselves as swiftly as possible without being seen themselves.

There came to the front of this group the hunter Ilunga, who, seeing them fleeing precipitately, called on them to parley. The boldest among them stopped and asked him who he was and what he sought.

Ilunga replied, '*Chibinda mulopu Mutombu, ni tupokolo, tukwete inyama, tukusota mongwa*', meaning, 'I am a hunter, *mulopu* of Mutombu, with bold lads [Literally 'small knives', perhaps 'blades' would be a good translation.—V. W. T.]; we have meat, we need salt.'

The girl hastened to tell him that she and her companions would inform the *Suana Murunda* of their arrival on the river bank; but that they must not cross the river without being ordered to do so by her mistress, since the guards would take them for enemies and do them some injury.

As it was now dark Ilunga ordered camp to be pitched. He then marked out his own [sleeping] place by inserting into the ground a forked branch which he cut from a large tree standing a short way off, and hung on it his bow, knife and other hunting gear.[1]

He unfolded his mat and lay down on it, with his head supported on an improvised pillow, his weapons at hand and his feet to the river.

Thus did he spend the night, his hand ever on his *chimbuia*, and by his side a good brazier of dry branches, gathered by his comrades to feed the fire.

The place where Ilunga slept was singled out by posterity as a place of pilgrimage sited precisely as the legend prescribed.

The *amilombes* related these events to Lueji. She was stirred by curiosity when they declared that never before in their whole land had they set eyes on so perfect and beguiling a fellow as the hunter they had spoken with. She sent for her *Canampumba* and informed

and was eventually changed to *Suana Mulopo* (*Swana Mulopu*) designating the one who followed in the [chiefly] succession, "the immediate heir".'

[1] Among the Southern Lunda and indeed among the contiguous Lwena, Luchazi, Cokwe and Mbwela, forked sticks are planted as temporary shrines in rituals to placate the offended spirits of great hunters, who are thought to confer bad luck in the chase on their living relatives to punish the latter for neglecting to worship them, for breach of tabu in relation to the hunting cult or for quarrelling with their kinsmen. Forked sticks in connection with hunting have a wide distribution over Africa. I have noted their use, in ethnographic accounts, by the Mozambique Tonga, by the Ila, Lamba and Mazabuka Tonga of Rhodesia and by tribes dwelling on the Lomami in the Central Congo. They are used as gun and bow rests and repositories of hunting trophies as well as spirit shrines. Among the Mwinilunga Ndembu they are known as *ayishing'a*, singular, *chishing'a* or *nyichanka*, singular, *muchanka*.—V. W. T.

him that since there were some hunters on the opposite bank carrying game and seeking salt in exchange, she would arrange that night to obtain food and drink for them and suitable shelter. At daybreak they must cross the river and present themselves before her.

Lueji's orders were fulfilled. The hunters were still asleep when Suana Murunda and her entourage of women set out through the small square in front of her residence on their way to the river bank. From it she had a large stone transported to the river. This stone, in the form of a pillow, stood beside a tree in the *quipanga* and was formerly used by her father as a seat.

Ilunga came where Lueji was, and she invited him to sit by her side on the stone, ordering *Canampumba* and his people to lead Ilunga's companions to apartments prepared for them in the *mazembe* [1], where they might rest.

Lueji, surrounded by her female attendants, who were present throughout the interview, heard the story of Ilunga.[2] How he intended to leave his own land for ever, and here he showed them the *chimbuia* axe, symbol of his status, which was passed round and much admired.

Lueji, on her part, handed him the *lucano* bracelet she had inherited from her father, and thinking that the best way to hold the attention of such a handsome hunter would be to talk with him about the chase, hinged the conversation around that topic.

She said that there was much game in the vicinity, but that they had a hard struggle to obtain any, because animals did not always fall victim to the traps employed by her people. If, however, the hunters remained there for a few days, they might be able to teach the Bungos how to use the weapons they employed.

Ilunga willingly accepted the invitation and was at once given lodging in a hut (*cubata* or *kubata*) in the royal enclosure (*anganda*) itself. Lueji in this way sought to prevent him from pleasing himself with one of her women [a true piece of feminine realism.—

[1] Thereby indicating her trust in them since they were now ' behind her ', see p. 6. Another meaning for this siting of Ilunga's party—Africans delight in such symbolic gestures—might be that Lueji was inviting Ilunga to be her lover, to be ' at the back of a woman ' signifies to have sexual relations with her.—V. W. T.

[2] The story of the first meeting between Lueji and Ilunga is told with gusto and with innumerable variations by all the Central African tribes which claim historical connection with the Lunda. Lunda-Ndembu versions dwell on the handsomeness of Ilunga and the beauty of Lueji, ' with her full, broad face ', and on the way they gazed on each other ' with a white liver (*muchima to-o*)' which might be translated as ' they found favour in each other's sight '. The clarity and eloquence of Ilunga's speech is also stressed. The figure of the great hunter is the supreme archetype of manliness ; the sagacious, filial woman who busied herself with her gardens is the pattern of womanhood. The tribesmen are also aware that the legend of this meeting implied the imminent birth of the Lunda Empire as well as of the states formed by dissident Bungo royals who could not stomach their supercession by the haughty Luban. Anger and struggle as well as love and triumph are involved in the same passionate event. —V. W. T.

V. W. T.] ; she desired to have him at her feet. *Canampumba* was told off to look after him and prepare for him a fine apartment in the *mazembe*, where envoys and guests were wont to stay.

After some days [during which according to Southern Lunda tradition he had access to the bed of the queen—V. W. T.] Ilunga sought permission from Suana Murunda to send one of his followers to Cassongo, his elder brother, with his father's *chimbuia* axe of state, to inform him that he would rather remain as hunter for the mistress of Lunda, Cassongo's neighbour, than return to his own impoverished state and die in it. Cassongo might nominate as *Suana Mulopo* whomever he pleased.

This decision was to Lueji's liking, but she feared it was only due to a momentary impulse and delayed the departure of the messenger by plausible pretexts.

Day by day relations between them became more intimate, and Ilunga, to give Lueji proof as to how much he appreciated her, was mindful to plant quickset saplings near the stone on which she had made him sit with her the first time they had exchanged glances.

Lueji, on her side, desiring to show an equal proof of affection, had the whole area cleared around the stone and beaten flat regularly after soaking it with water, to make it firmer. There she conversed every afternoon with Ilunga and they drank palm wine as a token of mutual friendship.

It would seem that the plantation of trees reputedly made by Ilunga around the stone, was not made by chance, and the place today [1887] stands as a memorial which is pointed out and explained to the travellers who come continually [1] to Calanhi, and it remains an indispensable element in the succession ceremony of a Mwatianvwa.

The tree first planted by Ilunga according to the legend is the one which is today largest and best developed. It is called the *mujangana* [2] (from *kwangana* ' to welcome ') or *mudiangana*. The two beside it, of lesser growth, were placed one against the other as a symbol of the first interview which the two held together in that place.

That group of trees is today very ancient, and it is beyond doubt that the two lesser trees have interlacing trunks and branches, and that the *mudiangana*, which symbolizes the reception, is shaded with a mighty crown, giving that natural scene a most delightful aspect.

Lueji consulted her diviners and in this way convinced herself that her father had contrived to send this hunter to her as she had not found among her relatives a man who had stirred her heart.

[1] The Mwinilunga Ndembu Chief Ikelenge told me that when he visited the present Mwatianvwa in 1951 he found that there was a regular bus service from the latter's *Musumba* on the Lulua River to Nkalanye, the site of the lovers' meeting.—V. W. T.

[2] In Southern Lunda rituals the first tree from which ' medicines ' are collected by the doctors is called *ishikenu*, which has the same meaning as *mujangana*. —V. W. T.

In the end she decided to call the council of *carulas* (*kalula* ; plural in Southern Lunda is *tulula*). This title is given to relatives in the senior (adjacent) generation who might be called ' uncles and aunts of Mwatianvwa '.[1] She wished to consult them about the diviners' pronouncements and on the dictates of her heart.

The *calulas* came on the day appointed : Candala, Canzela, Muluanguinji, Tuaji, Candinga, Catata, Quipexi, Cassaco, Macongo, Dinhinga, Muansansa, Andumbo-ia-Tembue, Ambumba, and also the women Anguina Cambamba, Anguina Cata, and Anguina Muhongo, and Lueji told them that her father, who (as a spirit) had not yet seen a man according to his taste on whom he wished to confer the *lucano* she had inherited, had sent the hunter Ilunga, with whom he was well pleased, and that she had called them to ask that the ceremonies should proceed which would sanction her choice. If Ilunga was not a relative, he was still a man of high birth, the brother of Canhiuca (Kanioka) and Cassongo, her neighbours. It did not matter that he was a stranger, since the sons that would come from their union would be of her blood and consequently of the blood of the *Muata* (Iala Macu).[2]

The older relatives, already sympathetic towards the stranger, declared themselves in his favour, because they wished to fulfil the last wishes of Xacala Macala [*sic*] and also because they were in continual fear that Quinguri, whose irascible temperament they well knew, would organize a faction to steal the *lucano* [3] from his sister and then settle accounts with the state.

All heartily applauded her decision and announced it to their

[1] To be more exact, the mother's brothers and father's sisters of the Mwatianvwa. Anguina Cambamba (Nyakabamba), for instance, was the sister of Iala Macu. The title *Kalula* among the Southern Ndembu denoted an official of the Paramount Chief, who at tribal assemblies and audiences, removed the lion and leopard skins from the chief's stool when the meeting was over. Chief Ikelenge (see above, p. 6), for example, is the *Kalula* of Chief Kanongesha of the Lunda-Ndembu.—V. W. T.

[2] In the Southern Lunda account Ilunga was given the *lukanu* by Lueji when she went into her menstruation hut to look after until she returned, since it would be polluted by contact with menstrual blood. Chibinda after a drinking bout forced the kin of Lueji to roll before him and snap their fingers (*ku-jiloka*) to him in token of submission. He then told them that he was their chief and that he would never give up the *lukanu*. Lueji later agreed to this, but the other kin left Luunda to carve out kingdoms for themselves with their followers. Carvalho's material was collected at Mwatianvwa's court from Ilunga's descendants who must have played down the violent aspects of his character and emphasized the villainy of Lueji's brothers, especially of Quinguri (Chinguli). The Bangala, founded by Quinguri, gave Carvalho a totally different version of the part played by Quinguri in the events leading to his secession. Quinguri, they said, was justly angered by the usurpation of the *lucano* by a Luban stranger. —V. W. T.

[3] Among peoples of Lunda origin the true chief is the one who actually possesses the *lukanu* (the Southern Lunda spelling). For example, ever since Sakayoli Chifuwu gained possession of the *lukanu* of Kanongesha Mulumbi by a trick and took it from Northern Rhodesia to Angola, the Rhodesian Lunda-Ndembu have recognized Sakayoli as the rightful Kanongesha and not Mulumbi's successors in Mwinilunga District.—V. W. T.

people who received it with favour. Ilunga immediately sent one of his followers to Cassongo with the *chimbuia* to inform him that he would speedily be united to the queen of Lunda.

Lueji herself sent her *aluas* (' messengers ') with her compliments to her future brother-in-law and bestowed on him several presents, entreating his willing help for Ilunga in his capacity of governor of the lands she had inherited from her father. She pointed out to him the importance and strategic position of these lands, and finally confided in him her fear of what Quinguri might do to create difficulties for the new governor.

Cassongo received them well and sent them back after a few days. He returned the *chimbuia* to his brother, who entrusted it, as a symbol of his state, to the care of his *Suana Mulopo*, according to the custom of their dead father's state.

The presents of his sister-in-law he matched with ivory and iron weapons which he entrusted to the care of hand-picked men, whom he commanded to obey the orders of Lueji, so that they might immediately prevent any attempt by Quinguri and his followers against Ilunga's rule.

Lueji still had control of the *lucano* : but recognizing that she was pregnant [1] and being warned that her brother had promised to make one of her serving women his *muari* (Southern Lunda *mwadyi*) or ' principal wife ' if she would steal her mistress's *lucano* when she was asleep, the queen made haste to convoke the *tubungos* (the old chiefs), her nearest relatives, to appoint the day on which they would give the *lucano* to the father of her future son.

She stressed the urgency of performing this ceremony, seeing that she could not appear regularly at the *tetame* (the ' great audience '), and after a few days the *tubungo* assembled and with all solemnity began the ceremony, making Ilunga submit himself for three days with the greatest resignation to all the humiliating tests through which it was understood he must pass.[2]

These were concluded by the most impressive harangues by the *tubungos*. The most senior of them took the *lucano* of *Suana Murunda* and slid it on the arm of Ilunga. He was given powers in the name of the people, to join all the small states into a single state under the authority of his future son, who would become great, dominating and conquering peoples, ordering the death of the disobedient, and of witches and criminals. Ilunga must dispose of the life and possessions of all the subjects on behalf of the greatness and well-being of his son, the subjects who were as slaves belonging to Lueji, the mistress of the lands. He must teach the sons of her

[1] This account deviates markedly from that of the Southern Lunda which states that Lueji was barren and never had children; her barrenness is mentioned in ritual in prayers. Ndembu say that Lueji gave Ilunga two concubines one of whom gave birth to the first Mwatianvwa.—V. W. T.

[2] Carvalho notes : ' These ceremonies are still repeated today precisely as tradition has handed them down, even more elaborated and exaggerated in keeping with the higher degree of civilization which the Lunda have attained.'

people to be as brave as the brave and daring sons who accompanied him.

The *Xacala*, grasping the *chimbuia* axe of Ilunga made great leaps, and accompanied by the whistling and acclamations of the people he showed by mimicry that he had done battle with wild beasts and human foes, which he had destroyed to lay at the feet of his lord. From time to time he interrupted the exacting sport with exclamations in which he was enthusiastically supported by the onlookers.[1]

' Be great, o Ilunga, in the name of thy son, that he may distribute among his people the possessions they desire !

' Be just and strong, that he may imitate thee and all his people may bless thee ! '

Thus ended the ceremony of the investiture of the *lucano* ; then followed the feasting, drinking and dancing.

The Birth of Mwatianvwa and the Appointment of Mwitiya

Lueji's son was born, whom they called Noeji (he took the cognomen of *Nama Mazeu*, ' flesh of the teeth, gums ') and after a time he was presented to the *tetame*.[2]

The representative of the *mwatas* (the Tubungos) summed up their views as follows : ' We are no more than thy humble slaves ; thou art the lord of our bodies, of our lives, of our wealth, of all that thou surveyest.

' If we are great, thou art greater than we are ; there is no one above thee : *katanga watanga makasa ni miendu, kutala aôsu, muntu kamutala* ; " o creator who makest arms and legs, look on all and see no one." *Eie, muata ia anvua, mitondo ni mauito ni iala, anganda aôso, eie muatianvua !* " Thou, o lord of wealth, trees, rivers and stones, all lands, all lives, verily all is thy possession, lord ! " ' (*anvua*, plural of *nvua*, ' riches ' from *ku-nvua*, ' to possess ').

Ilunga, satisfied, said, ' *Ianvo ami, muatianfua, ualonda, muitia* ', ' my son Ianvo, the lord of all riches, the possessor of all we see, thou who speakest, thou art the councillor who makest him to be accepted.'

Traditionally, the title of *Muitia* (*Mwitiya*) is as ancient as that of *Mwatianvwa*, and it is said that Ilunga gave to the first incumbent all the territories to the north of the *Mussumba* that he could conquer between the Lulua and Lubilashi rivers. But that realm, on the eastern side, never crossed the tributaries of the Nkalanyi, and to the north did not go beyond Capelequessa, the great mountain that

[1] Carvalho notes : ' All this is still done when acclamation is made to a Mwatianvwa.' The dance performed by the *Xacala* (*Nchakala*) is the *ku-tomboka* of the Southern Lunda, but among the latter it is danced by the *Kambanji* or War Leader before the local chief.—V. W. T.

[2] On p. 399 Carvalho distinguishes the *tetame* from ordinary audiences. They are accompanied by ceremonial, the announcement that they are to be held is made by Mwatianvwa during the night by means of the wooden slit-drum (*chinguvo*, Southern Lunda *chikuvu*) and can take place at any time of the day. The *tetame* appears to be—Carvalho is not explicit on this point—an audience of all the Lunda people.

separates the Uandas [sic] from the Luba peoples. One part of that region is still known, the inhabitants of which sleep in buildings of *salale*, and cover their genital organs with skin from their own stomachs, for which reason they are known as *Manjala Mavumo*. From this region, also, are sent the parrots with scarlet feathers which are so much appreciated [in Lunda] for adornment.

This state (Muitia) was the first of the tributary states, and in return for the concession made to him Muitia established the custom that his successors should present Mwatianvwa with a daughter or relative who would be at the latter's disposal as *muari* (principal wife), if he so desired.[1]

Quinguri leaves his Homeland

After that meeting, Lueji made it known that her hunter, as the father of Mwatianvwa, should be treated with the greatest respect, since he ruled in the latter's name and represented him in all matters.

She gave them an example by prostrating herself and rolling on the ground before him, when she desired to speak to him, and thus she thanked him for condescending to look at her. He permitted her to touch his clothing or even his skin. After eating or drinking she recognized his authority by humble obeisances. Lueji forced her senior relatives to do likewise, so that they should become as humble as possible in the presence of Mwatianvwa.

But some of her relatives found it hard to perform these humiliating ceremonies and accustom themselves to their use, and Quinguri was the first to declare himself against them, asserting that he had not been born a slave to make such dishonourable bowings and scrapings, and what was worse, for the benefit of a stranger.

From this arose the dissident factions; but Lueji had a large following, the hunter had won much sympathy, and at first little notice was taken when news came of such dissensions. Quinguri ceased to appear at audiences; he began to organize a following among his maternal kin, and endeavoured to compete with Mwatianvwa, forcing people to obey him and extorting tribute on the pretext that Ilunga was a stranger who was eating what belonged rightfully to him. He followed this by cutting off the heads of those who attempted to oppose his will.

When Lueji heard what was going on at the *quipanga* of her brother, she began to fear that he would obtain prestige by terrorism, and incited Ilunga to send out men to kill one of her relatives who attended the meetings of Quinguri, *pour encourager les autres*.

Persecutions and internal struggles followed this deed. Quinguri, although he had a large amount of support, feared Ilunga and Cassongo. In the end he took council with his favourite relatives

[1] Among the Southern Lunda, the senior chiefs, Kanongesha, Musokantanda, Ishinde, etc., are presented by their sub-chiefs or senior headmen (*ayilolu*) with tributary wives from the families or lineages of the latter. Such a wife is called *ntombu*.—V. W. T.

and they decided to leave their country and go far away to organize a powerful state, from which they would issue some day to destroy that of Mwatianvwa.

One night, when all was silent, they left home and set out with their people. They left a man behind to inform Lueji the following day that since she desired to kill Quinguri he had left his own lands to win others towards the sunset; there he would build up a great state and from it he would make war on her to avenge the humiliations to which she had subjected him. Meanwhile, however, she might as well eat up the riches of the lands of her grandmothers with the stranger she had chosen as the father of her children.

Quinguri went off in a west-south-westerly direction, towards Quimbunda (called the path of Quinguri) and here he crossed the river Cuanza (Kwanza) near its source.

Their march lasted a long time, for they made temporary encampments on the way, where they stayed to hunt game, which they used to snare or shoot with bows and arrows: furthermore, they used to fight against the peoples who tried to bar their way with their own large two-edged knives, and in this manner they passed from country to country.

They moved along the left bank of the Cuanza as far as the Libolo, which they reached after fierce conflicts, and Quinguri succeeded in establishing friendly relations with several important chiefs, among them with Angonga and his relatives, a numerous family of great importance, with whom he made affinal ties, for he married a sister of Angonga.

Quinguri remained in that locality for a while, for on the opposite bank bloody wars were going on between the Jinga, Andondo and their vassals against the Portuguese forces.

At that time there was a Portuguese presidio at Massangano. Quinguri crossed the Cuanza above Cambambe and informed the Capitão-mor that he and his people were friends who had come from afar to seek out Muene Puto.

The Capitão sent for them and learnt from Quinguri that they had left their own lands on the Rurua (Lulua), and taking their direction from the sun had reached that place to ask the Muene Puto to give them land on which to found a vassal state.

Quinguri and Dom Manuel Pereira

The Capitão-mor took them and presented them to the Governor in Loanda.[1]

[1] Here Carvalho adds a footnote which is perhaps his most important contribution to Central African history, since, if his arguments are accepted, approximately correct dates can be assigned to the foundation of the Lunda empire of Mwatianvwa and to the establishment of the dissident states. Here is Carvalho's thesis: 'It is difficult to verify dates among pagans, on account of the irregular manner in which they divide up time, especially when the facts refer to events which occurred before the lifetime of the informant. In this case, however, there are traditional sources in existence which are unanimous,

Quinguri described his travels to the Governor, explained the reasons for his voluntary expatriation and his desire to establish himself, under his protection, in the territories of Muene Puto.

The Governor thought they were fearless and bold and wanted to enlist their support in the wars against the Jinga. He said at once that he would give them lands and help them in their first settlements, but that they must first help our forces to conquer the rebels who were harrassing the vassals of His Majesty.

After they agreed he sent them for training in our armies where they learnt quickly.

As a result of staunch service in the Portuguese forces they were given land between Ambaca and the Golungo. The Governor also gave them the seeds of several grain crops. (This does not appear to have had a happy outcome for Carvalho notes : the Bangalas say

to wit—the wars between Massangano and Cambambe ; the tribute which certain *sovas* (" chiefs ") between those points and neighbourhoods were already paying to *Muene Puto* (the Portuguese authority) ; the maintenance of traditions that the Governor to whom Quinguri spoke was called " D. Manuel "; the wars in which they [Quinguri's people] took part with our forces against the Jinga ; and, again, the circumstance that they went on to settle on the Lucamba in Ambaca, immediately following the original occupation of that region. On the basis of such references it is possible that these people entered Loanda either in the time of D. Manuel Pereira Forjaz, from 1606 to 1609, or in that of D. Manuel Pereira Coutinho, from 1630 to 1635.

'In the first case, to which I am more inclined, an attempt was made to discover a means of communication between Angola and Mozambique, certainly based on the explanations given by Quinguri and his companions about the journey from their country to Loanda.

' In the second, we have the wars against the Jinga and the many prisoners which the descendants of Quinguri still boast today of having made for Muene Puto.

' But in this last case there is still a lot of confusion. Yet the facts of major importance are retained in their memory, so that it is natural that D. Manuel should be the Governor who gave them land in Ambaca, that name making a greater impression on them than Fernão, Bento or another less common one.

'In either case it can be said that the state of Mwantianvwa was organized shortly before, since it was founded at the end of the sixteenth century.'

On the other hand, Childs (Childs, p. 186) on the basis of a statement made by Andrew Battell to Purchas, has identified the ' Jagas ' of Battell with the ' Imbangala ' of Cassange (Kasanji). The Imbangala (Bangala, Mbangala) were the people founded by Quinguri ; according to Carvalho the first ' Cassanje ' was the daughter's son of Quinguri. Now Father Van Wing, on the evidence of Dapper and other historians of the Congo, shows that the first invasion of the Bakongo territory by the ' Jagas ' (whom he calls ' Yagas '), ' a warrior race who had come down from the South-East, probably from the Lunda ' (Van Wing, p. 12), took place in *1558*, half a century before Quinguri met D. Manuel, if Carvalho is right. Van Wing, however, identifies the ' Yagas ' with the Yaka of the middle Kwango, not with the Bangala. Of the Yaka Torday writes (Torday, p. 136) that while ' it seems quite possible that the chieftainship was seized by one of the emigrant raiding chiefs of Lunda ' . . . ' it is very doubtful whether the Ba-Yaka were actually tributary to the state of Lunda.' On balance, Van Wing's identification of the ' Yagas ' with the Yaka, seems more plausible. White (White, p. 32), on the data presented by Plancquaert in *Les Jaga et les Bayaka du Kwango*, takes the same view. It would seem that Quinguri's Bangala were a later group of marauders and Carvalho's dating is not far from being correct.

' the *anguvulo* (Governor) deceived us—for he knew well that the corn could not yield since it had been cooked, and the other seeds were rotten '.) The Governor also gave them gunpowder (Portuguese *polvora*).[1]

A deed of vassalage was made over, and for the occasion a red flag was handed to Quinguri on the border of which was a blue inscription in which the King of Portugal was recognized as lord of the jaga-ship [Angolan chiefs were called ' Jagas ' by the Portuguese, perhaps as a reminiscence of the Jaga invasion—V. W. T.]. He was also given a crown of the period. But Quinguri's successors were unable to use the insignia unless they formally avowed their vassal status in the presence of the Governor of Angola.

The locality chosen for the capital was close to the river Camueji (Kamweji) ; but here again they had no luck with their cultivation, for the corn did not thrive nor the other crops. For this reason they called the place Lucamba (' useless '), and left it.

Since they were hunters they tried to go into the bush towards the interior, to the north-east, but were repulsed by the peoples beyond the Lui and halted at the Ambando, next to the salt-deposit (Portuguese *salina*) of the Holo, where they made a provisional camp.

The Holo people, afraid of such insolent hunters, surrendered to them the usufruct of half that salt-deposit. Quinguri was satisfied with this and ordered the lands to be prepared for cultivation. Just then, some of his people who had crossed the Lui in pursuit of game, sent reports to him that they had come across a good, unpopulated country which contained two salt-deposits (these were afterwards called Quilunda and Lutona).

Quinguri set off immediately with all his people and when he had investigated the salt-deposits and the surrounding country, said without hesitation : ' Let us remain here, this will be our country.'

He asked the Governor's permission to settle there and found his chiefdom, for the land on the Lucamba was no good. In spite of the distance, he said, they would continue to be good vassals of Mwene Puto.

He exhorted his people to work, for the salt-deposits were their good fortune ; in them they had the wherewithal to buy many

[1] If this is true it means that the Bangala must have owned and been able to use fire-arms in the first half of the seventeenth century. Childs (Childs, p. 195) reports from Cadornega (*Historia Geral das Guerras Angolanas* (1680–1), Vol. II, p. 176) that the Portuguese fought against an ' intruding Iaga ' in 1661 who used fire-arms. He also writes that muskets and powder were sold from the time of Luanda's founding in 1576 but ' not all tribes took to them quickly '. However, the Bangala must have been trained to use fire-arms in the Portuguese army.

Since the Bangala quickly began to penetrate the interior again, and to trade with their Lunda homeland for slaves and ivory, it is probable that fire-arms reached Mwatianvwa's capital as articles of trade during the seventeenth century and may have made a contribution to the success of the early Lunda forays.—V. W. T.

people [as slaves] in his sister's state [1] and they would lack neither sustenance nor the means of clothing themselves like the sons of Muene Puto.

The peoples they defeated on their way from Ambaca to this region, some of whom escaped their yoke, were the Peinde (Pende).[2] They formed the majority of the population in the territory occupied today by the Bondos of Andala Quissua.

Quinguri-quia-Conti brought with his Lunda an official corresponding to the *Calala* of Mwatianvwa (the one who commands the assault forces or advance guard).[3] He was the Angola (Ambole) whence descends the Andala Quissua.

The Peindes, descendants of those who were expelled from what is now the Bondos' land, still lament the loss of the salt-deposits, the palm trees, the *mulembas* [?], and the bananas lost long ago.

When the caravans of Bangalas, Bondos, Quimbares [probably Ovimbundu—V. W. T.] and Calandulas come to them with salt for sale, they say to them : ' *Akua kuba, akuavumo, mukua kilangalu, enu tuamishile bala bale dia mulundo, lelu muatu. nehenakio kamukele, kamongwa kia huhaha munetu* ; my fellow-countryman, my relative, you who stay at the foot of our country, remember to come today to see us and bring a bit of our salt. May you be seeing well, and be thankful.'

The Tripartite Succession of the Bangala

Quinguri thought it necessary to increase his people, and sent a message to Angonga by one of his women, Angonga's sister, to invite him and his whole family to come and live with him in his new chiefdom, subject to Muene Puto.

Angonga came, accompanied by more people than Quinguri had bargained for, and he and his leading subjects, fearing that their new neighbours would seize their possessions from them, decided to give them a stake in the well-being of the state.

In order to avoid future complications over the succession to chieftainship, it was agreed that the two families held it jointly. A son of Angonga was to succeed Quinguri, and he in his turn would be followed by a descendant of Quinguri, provided that certain

[1] The Bangala, in this tradition, affirm the early date at which their activities began as middlemen between the Portuguese coast and the Lunda state in the interior.—V. W. T.

[2] These must be the ' Ba-Pindi ' of Torday (Torday, p. 142) who writes that they were originally inhabitants of the Upper Kwango, where they were attacked ' about the year 1620 by the Lunda chief, Kinguri, and his band of roving marauders. Some of them mixed with the invaders to form the basis of the Imbangala people, while the rest, a large proportion, were driven into the interior, penetrating eventually as far as the upper waters of the Kasai, where they settled. They were then apparently attacked by a Lunda chief, Mukelenge Mutombu, who had come from the court of Ilunga with the original Mai ' (see p. 3 and pp. 25–6).—V. W. T.

[3] Among the Southern Lunda this official is called *Ifota*.—V. W. T.

conditions were observed: the successor must not be a *maquita* [1] and must agree to be circumcised after he had been chosen.

The most honoured wife of these potentates is always the first, and since Quinguri's was Culaxingo (Kulashingu), his descendants are called 'the descendants of Culaxingo.' [2]

Later, an expedition of dissident Jinga, under the leadership of Calunga came to seek the hospitality of Quinguri's chiefdom. The latter, knowing them to be turbulent and audacious, agreed with Andonga to admit them into his territory if Calunga agreed to admit his family into the succession, entering the order of succession after the family of Angonga. Thus an Angonga followed a Culaxingo, and a Calunga followed an Angonga in the succession.

This order was observed, as I said before, up to a certain point, but thereafter ambitions gave rise to dissensions and dynastic struggles, which were greatly exacerbated after the founding of the Market of Cassanje.[3]

There was a grandson of Quinguri [actually Culaxingo's daughter's son], called Cassanje,[4] who changed the ancient administrative centre of the chiefdom to its present site (Cassanje or Cassange), and gave his name both to site and chiefdom.

On investigation I verified that an Angonga and then a Kalunga succeeded Quinguri, and that after the latter came Cassanje, grandson of Quinguri.

In time the sons of *maquitas* formed villages of their own and spread to the south along both banks of the Cuango. They called these *ambanzas*, a name also given as a title to chiefs. [I pass over the later history of the Bangala as given by Carvalho, including 'the wars of Cassanji' conducted by Jaga Ambumba against the Portuguese in the 1850's.—V. W. T.]

To sum up: we have, then, in a region adjoining the Cuango, a tribe of Bungos, mixed with a group of Libolo (Angonga's people)

[1] Carvalho notes: 'The sons of the *jaga* (chief) are *maquitas*, they hold the same rank and status as he does, but may not become *jagas* themselves. The nephews in the maternal line and those nearest to the previous *jaga* [uterine nephews or own sisters' sons—V. W. T.] are the ones eligible for election, but they may only succeed after the chieftainship has been held by the other chiefly family [*sic*]. But that misconceived law gave rise to confusion and to the wars which have taken place in the last thirty years [1850–1880 appr.], and now it is impossible to perceive the fundamental criteria on which candidates base their claims. The circumcision, accompanied by ceremonies we might find repugnant, is actually performed long after the election of the *jaga*; it is certain that Quinguri, to become a Bungo, had passed through that operation as a child and was responsible for the rule that his successors should be circumcised after their election. From 1852 until now [1887] the elected *jagas* have been putting off circumcision as long as possible—when they are ready to undergo it they do not survive it.'

[2] Carvalho does not state whether Culaxingo was the sister of Angonga whom Quinguri married.

[3] An important 'clearing-house' in the slave trade.—V. W. T.

[4] According to Lunda-Ndembu tradition 'Kasanji' was the one who introduced muzzle-loading guns into the present Mwinilunga area in exchange for slaves.—V. W. T.

and a group of Jinga, the whole comprising the Bangala people of Angola, with which there were certainly mixed part of the Ambaca peoples and some defeated Tupeinde (Ba-Pindi) who did not go with those who settled between the Cuilo (Kwilu) and Cuengo (Kwengu). [1]

Further Events in the Lunda State; the Founding of the Cokwe, Lwena, Shinje and Songo Peoples

Meanwhile in Lunda (Luunda), the departure of Quinguri had given rise to much discussion, and Lueji sought to find out the views of her relatives on the matter.

In one of the audiences, Anguina [2] Cambamba, aunt [presumably father's sister, but possibly mother's sister—V. W. T.] of Lueji, acting in concert with her relatives Andumba-ua-Tembue, Ambumba, Quiniama and others, all disaffected, asked Lueji if the Mwatianvwa had any news of their evil kinsman Quinguri.

Lueji made as though she knew nothing, and Na Cambamba told her of the rumours which were current, and pointed out that it

[1] If one looks at the list of Bangala chiefs given by Carvalho, each with his cognomen, it would seem that after the first eight chiefs, struggles took place to keep the chieftainship within each lineage and to prevent it passing to the next in order. Thus we find as successive chiefs Quinguri-quia-Cassombe and Cambamba-ca-Quinguri, both of whom would appear to have been members of Quinguri's (Culaxingo's) lineage; and Malengue Angonga and Quitumba-quia-Angonga, of Angonga's lineage. The situation was probably further complicated by cross-cousin marriage between the chiefly lineages, and alliances between two lineages against the other. The apical ancestresses of these matrilineages seem to have been: (1) Culaxingo, the principal wife of Quinguri; (2) the principal wife of Angonga; and (3) either the principal wife or the sister of Kalunga. Carvalho gives 35 names of chiefs since the founding of the Bangala (*c.* 1610–*c.* 1640) to 1887 when he was writing. The average length of a reign would be therefore approximately seven or eight years, a short period, indicating the keenness of the competition for office. For the last eight chiefs the average length of a reign was about five years.

[2] Carvalho notes: '*Anguina* means "great lady". Lunda also employ this term for "mother", since for them mother is the most important lady (Portuguese, *senhora*) there is. They often use the prefix *na-* for "mother" as in Na Cambamba, and *xa-* [Southern Lunda and Lwena *sa*—V. W. T.] for father, as in the title *xambanza*, given to elders [among the Mwinilunga Lunda-Ndembu *sambanza* means "brother-in-law" of the senior chief, Kanongesha, under matrilineal succession father of a potential heir to the chieftainship—V. W. T.] Families are generally distinguished by the name of the mothers, which they take as family names. A man who calls himself father may not be the real father; about the mother there can be no doubt. [I have heard this argument in favour of matrilineal descent put forward by Mwinilunga Lunda.—V. W. T.]

'Among the Bungos, whom I consider the first of the peoples who came from the north-east to that region, the daughters of potentates are the ones who give heirs to the states of their fathers. Authority does not, therefore, pass [directly—V. W. T.] from fathers to sons. In Mwatianvwa's state, although it is said that "to be Mwatianvwa it is necessary to be Mwatianvwa", the state does not pass directly through the sons. This was only true in the case of Lueji because she had no daughters.

'Mwatianvwa Noeji (who knew our Rodrigues Graça) held that his superior greatness consisted in his having many daughters, for, he said, they would give chiefs to the nation. Noeji was the Mwatianvwa who remained longest in

would be appropriate to advise Mwatianvwa to make Quinguri put off his journey and return for suitable punishment.

Lueji, astute as ever, replied that her brother was very bold, and that for such a task she could only send a relative in whom she had great confidence.

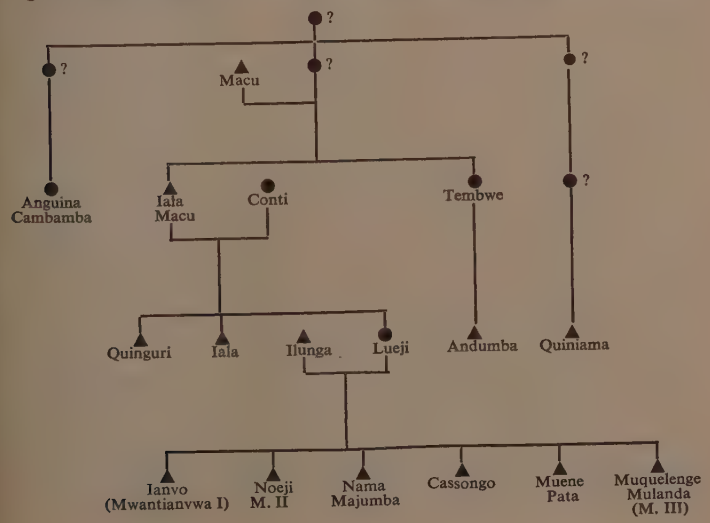
Then Anguina Cambamba [1] offered to go with her people in search of Quinguri and persuade him to appear before Mwatianvwa.

Ilunga had been correctly informed that those relatives of his wife were not friendly towards him, and when Lueji told him what had taken place, he made her realize that it would indeed be convenient for the peace and security of the state if they went too, and stayed far away with Quinguri. Rather than have them put to death one day he preferred to tell them that he would take advantage of their good services and that they should set out as soon as possible on their mission.

The following morning Lueji, in audience, told Na Cambamba that she had made her offer known to Mwatianvwa, her master, and that he had gladly accepted it, for he had the highest confidence in her and in all her people. She then put on a little pressure,

office ; he left many offspring for neither his aunts, nieces, nor sisters, nor even his own daughters escaped from his concupiscence. I knew two son-grandsons of this man, his sons by two of his daughters. [But this account of the Lunda succession rules contradicts what Carvalho states later—see p. 26—where succession is clearly patrilineal and adelphic.—V. W. T.']

[1] Carvalho supplies data which enables us to infer a few of the ties of relationship existing between Lueji and her relatives. Here is a genealogy expressing these relationships :



suggesting that it might indeed be to their advantage if they also went to found a state as Quinguri had done. Na Cambamba replied, ' We go to fetch Quinguri, not to stay with him.' Lueji annoyed, replied, ' But the Mwatianvwa is the one who does not want them to return here—*aioko a ku Kinguri*, ' let them also go to Quinguri '.

This ejaculation of Lueji's is the abbreviated form of *aĩa ôko ku Kinguri*. *Aiôco* became the designation of the tribe ; among the Lunda the singular was *Chiôco*, *Cachiôco* and from the latter the tribe became known as *Chioco* [the modern spelling is *Cokwe*—V. W. T.]. The relatives of Na Cambamba, i.e. those who left the court with her, worked iron, but by the most rudimentary methods. Today, however, the Quiocos [to use Carvalho's most common spelling] are quite the best blacksmiths in that region, surpassing even the best among the Bangalas.

After Lueji's saying, all who had previously been disposed to go away, got up immediately and went out, fearing that if the meeting were prolonged, the very least they might suffer would be decapitation.

They followed Quinguri's trail as far as the Kasai, keeping on until they reached the neighbourhood of its source, crossed it, and then changed direction to the Cuanza (Kwanza), where they camped near the mountain range of the Muenge or Mungue where they saw an abundance of iron.

Andumba was the oldest of them and so was considered their chief, he established himself more or less where his descendant resides today, at the source of the Cuango.

Later, his relatives, no less ambitious than the descendants of Mwatianvwa, spread from the Cuango source to the Kasai ; and in time their descendants moved away to points around 12° S. Lat., forming new tribes under various names, often taken from the rivers near which they settled, such as the Angombe, Nungos (Minungo), Luenas (Lwena or Lovale), Lassas, Cossas (Makosa), etc ; all these groups being known to the Lunda as *aioko*, which may be interpreted as ' the expatriated ', those who were for Quinguri.

Na Cambamba was the mother of the first Quissengue, and the latter founded a state more to the north than those of his relatives, and at present (1887) in the lands of a *quilolo* [' sub-chief ' or ' senior headman '.—V. W. T.] of Mwatianvwa, the Quimbundo, for Quissengue did not wish to submit to the authority of Ambumba. [This group of 'Chissengue' seem to inhabit the land between the Chikapa and Luachimo rivers.—V. W. T.]

After that, descendants of Ambumba and Quiniama fought their way further north along the river courses, but until the time of the wars of Cassanje (1856) did not pass beyond 9° S. Lat.[1]

[1] White discusses the main areas of Cokwe settlement in the following terms (White, p. 28) : ' Buchner described the Ndumba-Tembo branch on the Kwango, the Mona-Kiniama branch on the Kwilu and the Mona Kisenge on the Luachim. Chokwe immigrants into Northern Rhodesia recognize three groups of their

Southward and South-eastward Expansion of the Lunda

After the departure of Andumba, Na Cambamba and their people, Ilunga decided to send trusted people to the south to conquer territory for his own state, for it was known that Quinguri was conquering many people and levying large numbers to help him. These people, among other chiefs, included Caembe Muculo, Catema, Mussocantanda, Xinde, Canonguexe, Cajembe, Malango, and some of his other relatives who came from his former state of Luba.[1]

The lands conquered by these chiefs and their heirs were compelled to pay tribute (*milambos*, Southern Lunda, *nyilambu*) to Mwatianvwa.

The Origin of the Maxinje

Lueji, on her part, invited her cousin Candumba (Kandumba), usually known as Caquiria Uhonga, to take the road to the west with his own people and others she gave him, to seize lands and conquer peoples, and to offer opposition to any future attempts by Quinguri to attack the Lunda state.

Lueji gave him the title of Capenda Mucua Ambango (' great personage '), and to his niece, daughter of his sister Mona Quingungo, she gave the title Mona Mavu-a-Combo (' Daughter of the conquered land ').

When Lueji bade them farewell, she said, ' *Kapenda, kangana kuenda kiakata kuenda akuenu* ', ' nobleman, do not march as your relatives marched ', referring to the relatives who did not send her news of themselves and fled away from the state.

On account of sickness and other causes, that tribe remained for a long time on the Luachimo, but continued to maintain communication with the Mussumba, sending tribute to the Mwatianvwa, and attracting to its ranks numbers of its neighbours.

After Capenda died, the senior men in the state decided that Mona Mavu should not remain any longer in that place, and that she should choose from among the people a man she liked to represent her in audiences, as Lueji Suana Murunda had done ; but that she should not have more than two sons by that man ; that then she should choose another under the same conditions, and so on successively.

In this way, they recognized that she only could give the blood

tribe—Chokwe chaMwanakandala on the middle Kasai about Saulimo, chaMwachisenga (= Mona Kisenge) in the Belgian Congo from Chikapa northwards, and chaMwakanyika, the most numerous element in Northern Rhodesia originating on the southern Kasai from Ndala to Vila Luso.'

[1] Later in his book (p. 541) Carvalho states explicitly that it was in the reign of the fifth Mwatianvwa, Ianvo Noeji, that Luqueza, ' cousin ' of Mwatianvwa, was sent ' to take charge of ' the state of ' Cazembe ', near Lake Muero (Mweru), founded by Canhimbo (Kanyimbu), and that Xinde (Ishinde) and Canonguexi (Kanongesha) were sent to occupy land to the south of the Lulua ' as far as its tributaries '. Canhimbo, according to Carvalho, was the son of Mwatianvwa Ianvo, son of Ilunga and Lueji.

of Capenda to the succession, and that if the sons of one of her husbands should prove unsuitable those of another might turn out better.

Mavu made her choice and decided to leave those lands. They gave part of them to Mwatianvwa, and went westwards passing the Cuengo (Kwengu), and in time they reached the Cuango (Kwangu).

Mavu had three husbands, and from each she bore a son and a daughter ; from the first, Tengue and Mahango, from the second, Malundo and Muzombo, and from the third, Massongo and Maholo.

When Mavu grew old and her sons matured, she agreed with the important men of her court that each group of children should form a state with the title of Capenda, the first group to remain near the Cuango where Mona Mavu was, and the others to go further south, each setting up his own state on the Cuango.

The sisters went with their brothers to give them successors, and they were held in as much respect as their mother, so that it was said that this state was a state of women. They all had their own lands and court in each of the three states into which the dominion of Capenda was divided.

They agreed to offer each other mutual aid, and if there were no heirs in one to take them from the others.

The precedence of the groups of children was in accordance with the order in which their states were founded ; in the first stayed Tengue and his sister Mahango, and it was called *Mulemba* after the great number of trees of that name (*Ficus elasticus*) and the potentate was called Capenda-ca-Mulemba.

The second and third took the names of the potentates, and were Kapenda Malundo, to the south of Mulemba, and the third Massongo, the people of which were called Songo, and were divided into greater and lesser Songo.

Up to a point the established custom was observed, the sisters' sons succeeded ; however, in the end in each state ambition gave rise to struggles and created changes [in the mode of succession] which were maintained by force. Malcontents spread into the interior, moving away from the capital and occupying lands they had explored.

Some returned to the east at the same time as Quiocos were moving north, and new tribes were formed by one or the other group, and by admixture.

The Quiocos, blacksmiths and hunters, found a vast terrain on which to carry on their activities, and they easily obtained salt, objects of apparel and arms from the Libolo, and a little more to the north (Bangalas).

Their population, augmented from neighbouring peoples, by war and by the [political] relations they maintained, spread out between the Cuango and Cuanza to the north, and almost to Bihe (Viye) in the west, and further to the east. Their princes derived from

Andumba, Ambumba, Muxico (Quiniama), Miequeta, Quibau, Catendi, Canhica, Cabinda, Mucanjanga, Quissengue, Miocoto, Quihendo, Cambomba and others. These princes are the ones who, on the way to Quissengue left Andumba on account of his exactions of tribute and for fear of his sorcery.

In the time of Mwatianvwa Noeji, the Lunda tried to prevent the expansion of Quissengue to the north. Among the Quiocos, their potentates, Mona Angana, do not execute people like Mwatianvwa but bewitch and the victim dies.[1]

From these groups, others again went off for the same reasons. After the establishment of Carneiro in Quimbundo, when they had acquired skill in the use of our firearms, some took up elephant hunting.

The sons of the potentates of the Capenda states limit their ambition to the control of small populations; the better offices are for the daughters, who are destined to become the wives of princes and of the Capendas themselves.[2]

The Bangalas nicknamed these people *Xinjes* for their main diet was rats [presumably cane-rats—V. W. T.].

When the Xinjes reached the Cuango, Mona Mavu informed Mwatianvwa that Quinguri had entered the lands of Muene Puto, that she had organized a Capenda state, dependent on Mwatianvwa, and she sent her presents. She said her lands were very good and contained many lions and elephants.

The Departure of Mai Munene and Muquelengue Mutombu

These messages stirred up the ambitions for greatness that still existed in the descendants of Mutombu, the Luba king, and in the end Ilunga called Mai, his brother [see p. 3], and invited him to explore the lands to the north, and found a state on his behalf, as an important man (*munene*, 'great one') should. Ilunga sent him out, with his wife and an armed retinue.

Mai met and subjected many people in the lands of Mataba and established himself at Chicapa, near the waterfalls still called Mai Munene. He increased his group by adding neighbouring peoples who percolated from the north from the Tucongo, Tubinje and Chilangues.

After he had settled, Mai immediately sent presents to Lueji, and increased his dominions to the south.

In his state, the sons of brothers succeeded.

With Mai's following went that of a cousin of Lueji, a son of Muata called Quissanda Camexi, who went as far as the Lovua

[1] Similarly, among the Southern Lunda, chiefs are thought to be given instruction in sorcery after their installation by the official who medicates the *lukanu*, the *chivwikankanu*. Perhaps this belief is an index of lack of centralized political control? Mystical powers are invoked where secular authority is weak.—V. W. T.

[2] Here, again, cross-cousin marriage is implied. The daughter of the former Capenda marries his heir, who is sister's son of the late incumbent.—V. W. T.

River. He was also accompanied by Muquelengue Mutombu,[1] a cousin of Ilunga [probably father's brother's son], who, passing that river, went north. With him also went Cassongo, Ilunga's own nephew; he left the group at the Cuilo (Kwilu) and went as far west as the Cuango.

The Mwatianvwa Succession

Lueji bore six sons for Ilunga—Ianvo, Noeji, Nama Majumba, Cassongo, Muene Pata and Muquelengue Mulanda.

Lueji and Ilunga decided that all their sons should succeed in order of birth, and that then it would pass to their oldest sons. Thus, it would never pass directly from fathers to sons. If a Mwatianvwa had no sons from any of his wives he must cease to be Mwatianvwa.

The Death of Ilunga

When Ilunga died, as he was always considered a stranger in the land of the Bungos, he was given burial on the right bank of the Cajidixi in the place where he slept on the night of his first arrival.[2]

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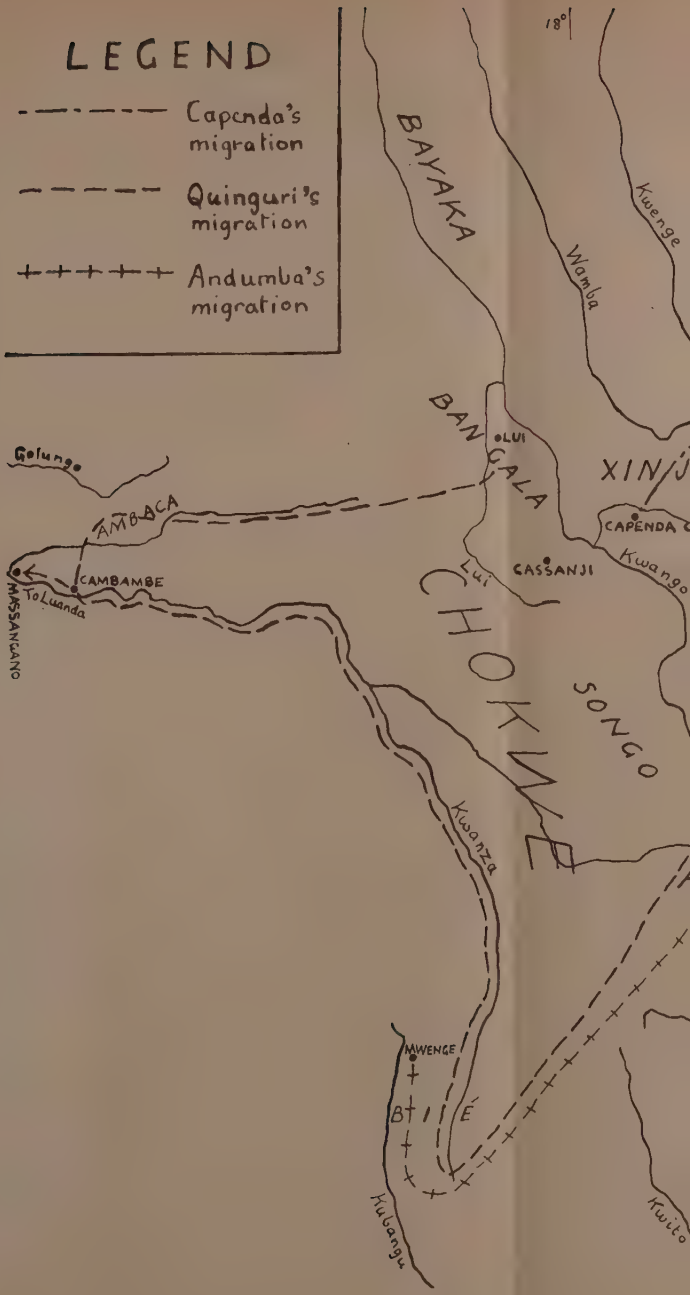
[1] Torday writes of this chief (Torday, p. 142): 'A Lunda chief, Mukelenge Mutombu, who had come from the court of Ilunga with the original Mai, attacked the Ba-Pindi [the Peinde of Carvalho] on the upper waters of the Kasai, and seized part of their territory. However, he treated them well, so they remained.'

[2] Carvalho was shown a forked stick reputed to be the one planted by Ilunga for his weapons.


LEGEND
Capenda's migration
Quinguri's migration
Andumba's migration
18°
BAYAKA
Wamba
Kwenge
BANGALA
LUI
XIN
CAPENDA
CASSANJI
Kwango
Lui
CHOKWE
SONGO
Golungo
AMBACA
CAMBAMBE
To Luanda
MASSANGANO
Kwanza
NAWENGE
BIÉ
Kwito
Huvangu

26°
28°
6°
8°
10°
12°
14°
LAKE TANGANYIKA
LUBA OF KASONGU
LAKE MWERU
KAZEMBE LUNKINDA
Luapula
Lualaba
LAKE BANGWEULU
SO KANTANDA

IMU: SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON VENGEANCE MAGIC AMONG THE RHODESIAN NDEBELE

by
A. J. B. HUGHES

Bantu Africa witchcraft is very real to the vast majority of fricans. There is a considerable literature on the conflicts ed by the refusal of European administrations to admit the ty of witchcraft, and the consequent denial by them of the t to employ penal sanctions against those who have been named diviners as practising witches.

Aelland, writing of Africa in general, has pointed out that ' in [the Africans'] eyes we are on the side of the witches, from se machinations as white men we may be immune '.[1] He also ns that the action traditionally taken against witches in African eties—killing, banishment, or some other type of penal sanction as the only form of relief which members of those societies v from the terror of witches and witchcraft in which they lived. terror is still there, he adds, but the traditional methods of ving it cannot now be practised legally. He suggests that opean administrations should take more official cognizance of Africans' undiminished belief in witchcraft; as otherwise the majority will either know no relief from this fear, or else be ed by it to adopt illegal counter-measures against those they ve to be witches.[2]

Monica Wilson makes a similar point with regard to the Nyakyusa. e prohibition of witch finding ', she says, ' is not accepted as t and just; the common view is that the Europeans " protect witches ", and they are condemned for doing so.'[3] She also ts out the difficulties facing European administrations when ing with witchcraft beliefs, since ' no one with a background vestern science can admit the reality of witchcraft—as defined he Nyakyusa '.[4]

vans-Pritchard, however, states that, among the Azande,

y the whole procedure of vengeance is carried out to everyone's faction on a mystical plane. A man is killed by witchcraft; magic ade to avenge him; someone else in the neighbourhood dies and oracles declare that he has died as the result of magic, and so it goes

Aelland, F. H., ' The Ethical and Political Aspects of African Witchcraft ', a, VIII, 4 (1935), p. 496 f.
Aelland, *op. cit.*, p. 498.
Vilson, *Good Company*, O.U.P., (London, 1951), pp. 132–3.
Vilson, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

on. Everyone is satisfied at avenging his kin, and nobody is any the worse off.

This passage brings out the importance of vengeance magic as a counter-witchcraft device in this particular culture, and similar non-physical means of counteracting or discouraging the practice of witchcraft are reported from many parts of Africa. But the balance of the evidence is that in many societies these mystical measures are not considered to be completely efficacious. The success of such witchfinding movements as that of the Bamucapi in Central Africa suggests that a large number of Africans still feel the need for some effective substitute for the traditional physical 'security measures' that were formerly employed against witches and witchcraft.[2]

Witchcraft is normally considered by Europeans as being a one-way process, in which only two actors are intimately concerned. One of these, the witch, is supposed to employ magical methods, or some other non-physical means of attacking others. Hence such activities cannot be treated as criminal. The other, the person who considers himself the victim of witchcraft, in his resentment of the effects which he ascribes to the witch's machinations, is held to have relied traditionally on physical means of retaliation; either on his own account, or more usually in the form of penal sanctions applied by the society on his behalf, and for its own protection. Such physical retaliation is now impracticable, unless carried out illegally and in great secrecy.

In Southern Rhodesia the Witchcraft Suppression Act[3] is directed not only towards checking such physical retaliation, but also makes accusations of witchcraft illegal. Despite its name, this act is aimed not at the suppression of witchcraft or sorcery as such (the existence of which Southern Rhodesian Law does not recognize), but at the activities of the witchfinders. In this it resembles similar legislation in many other territories.

The account that follows deals with certain Ndebele beliefs about anti-witchcraft measures; measures that involve no 'physical' retaliation so that they can be used today without bringing the user into conflict with the European authorities. I have no evidence to suggest either that these beliefs were not held in former times, when more direct forms of retaliation against people believed to be witches was possible, or that this type of magical retaliation is regarded by the Ndebele as an adequate substitute for these more direct methods.

I am also very conscious of the gaps in my own knowledge of Ndebele witchcraft beliefs. The information that is given here

[1] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 'Witchcraft', *Africa*, VIII, 4 (1935), p. 420 f.
[2] Richards, A. I., 'A Modern Movement of Witchfinders', *Africa*, VIII, 4 (1935), pp. 448 ff.; Marwick, M. G., 'Another Modern Anti-Witchcraft Movement in East-Central Africa', *Africa*, XX, 2 (1950), pp. 100 ff.
[3] Ordinance 14 of 1899.

undoubtedly does not tell the whole story; probably only a very small part of it. I was not primarily concerned, while among the Ndebele, with the investigation of witchcraft, or of witchcraft beliefs. Nevertheless, I am submitting this as a straightforward ethnographic account—with very few comments of my own added—in the hope that it may add a little to our very scanty knowledge of witchcraft beliefs and practices in this area; and perhaps even stimulate other workers to further investigation of the particular phenomena described here.

The People

The Southern Rhodesian Ndebele are an Nguni-speaking people, numbering some 300,000 to 400,000, who are today found mostly in central Matabeleland.[1] They have only existed as a separate and distinct group for a little over a century. The modern nation owes its origin to the invasion of these parts in the late 1830's by one Mzilikazi, with a mixed following of Nguni and Sotho.

Mzilikazi was one of a number of Nguni leaders who fled from the Zululand of Shaka at various times to found Nguni states in distant parts of Africa. He and his followers crossed the Drakensberg and settled first in what is now the Transvaal. There they started to build up a military state modelled on that of the Zulu. Ndebele warriors raided the surrounding Sotho tribes, taking their cattle, and killing or capturing the people. When Dr. Andrew Smith visited these regions in the years 1835 and 1836, he considered Mzilikazi as the most powerful chief in the area and gave him, on behalf of the British Government, a larger present than any other chief; namely 'one medal with 1835 on one side, two ornamental cloaks and two looking-glasses, large size'.[2]

Possibly as the result of this 'trifling encouragement' Mzilikazi agreed to send a representative to visit the British authorities at the Cape; and in 1836 this representative made his mark on a document by virtue of which the Ndebele state entered into treaty relations with the British crown.[3]

Shortly after this Mzilikazi was faced by stronger foes than the Sotho tribes with whom his forces had been dealing hitherto. He came into conflict with the advance guard of the Voortrekkers, and was also attacked by an *impi* sent by Dingane. He decided to move again. The Ndebele, a group now including both Nguni and Sotho, turned north, and eventually entered the territory in which they now live. They conquered the Shona-speaking peoples

[1] I use this term in the sense of the old administrative division comprising all the western part of Southern Rhodesia, and not in the more restricted geographical sense in which it is coming to be used in certain official publications. See *Statistical Year Book of Southern Rhodesia*, 1947, pp. 2, 43; *Official Year Book of Southern Rhodesia*, 1952, pp. 163 ff.

[2] Brit. Parl. Paper 503 of 1837, p. 349.

[3] Brit. Parl. Paper of 1837, p. 350.

whom they found there, and began to build up their state anew.

This Ndebele kingdom, centred on the High Veld country to the north of the Matopos, survived for over fifty years. Then, in 1893, Lobengula, Mzilikazi's son and successor, became involved in a war with the British South Africa Company, and was defeated after a short campaign.

Since then the Ndebele have been administered as part of the African population of Southern Rhodesia. Their territory was divided into a number of administrative districts under the control of European Native Commissioners, and nowadays there is no recognized central authority for all the Ndebele. Instead there are a large number of separate chiefdoms, each chief having jurisdiction over the people inhabiting his own chiefdom only. The majority of chiefdoms are divided into two or more headmen's areas under the control of headmen who are responsible to the chief. Both chiefs and headmen have certain recognized powers in their own territories, and can try cases concerning civil matters.[1] Appointments to these positions are subject to the approval of the Administration, and those holding them are paid a subsidy by the Government.

The people live in small homesteads (*imizi* sing. *umuzi*) scattered over the countryside. These rarely house more than a single elementary or polygynous family; with possibly one or two other dependants of the homestead head. In the past there were larger settlements, but today larger nucleations are found only in areas where the administration has brought in a policy of centralization. Where this policy operates homesteads have to be built on surveyed sites, usually in a line and relatively close to one another. Only in such areas are settlements worthy of the title of 'villages' found[2] and even in these each homestead still remains a very obvious and distinct unit.

The people are agriculturists and pastoralists. The bulk of their food supply is provided by agriculture, but they are still a 'cattle people' in the sense that these animals still have a great sentimental significance, as well as economic importance. Virtually every man expresses a wish to have as large a herd as possible, and discussions about the merits of different pieces of country invariably revolve around the question of their relative suitability for cattle rearing. The situation is changing now because of the destocking regulations introduced by the Government, and because the Ndebele are being drawn more and more into the European money economy. Conservative Ndebele still tend to equate wealth with cattle, while more

[1] In this context the distinction between 'civil' and 'criminal' cases is made according to the law of Southern Rhodesia, not according to the Ndebele law and custom.

[2] Except perhaps in the Kalanga-speaking areas of the south-west, where larger nucleations of settlement are reported.

sophisticated members of the society stress the economic importance of cattle.[1]

In Rhodesia the subjects of the Ndebele king were a heterogeneous group of diverse origins. Ndebele custom recognized this plurality of origins by dividing the nation into three distinct sections, or castes, between which intermarriage was forbidden. The Nguni were known as *abezansi*; those of Sotho origin as *abenhla*; while the remainder, who soon became the most numerous section of the nation, formed a servile group known by a variety of names, *amaholi*, *amalozwi*, or ' people of Mambo ' (*abantu baka Mambo*).[2] This last group performed all the manual labour, while from the dominant Nguni sections were drawn all the political leaders and rulers. The group of Sotho origin, the *abenhla*, formed an intermediate group between these two.

European rule has not recognized this division into castes, but inter-caste marriages are still relatively rare, and these three groups have survived as distinct and separate parts of the Ndebele nation. They still speak of themselves as different ' nations ',[3] with different laws and customs. In particular, there are known to be marked differences in ritual matters between members of the erstwhile servile caste, the Lozwi, who are mostly descended from the Shona-speaking peoples, and those of the two immigrant castes.

It seems probable that there are fewer differences in matters concerning witchcraft and witch beliefs than in some other aspects of ritual life. It may well be that there has been some interchange of ideas and practices between the members of different castes who have been living in close proximity to one another for generations. Informants speaking of ritual practices, where there are known to be caste differences, will normally mention this, and specify the section of the nation who follow the particular practice under discussion. This is not done in questions concerning witch beliefs; and in answer to direct questions informants were unable to point to important differences between the practices and beliefs found in their own caste and those of others. Such differences as were brought out were connected with the process of divination.

But it should be pointed out that in the case history which I give below the people involved were all Lozwi (with the exception of one non-Ndebele and the chief); that is, they were all descended

[1] These generalizations refer primarily to the rural Ndebele. Since this study is concerned with the rural areas, I have not dealt in detail with the situation among the very small number of Ndebele who have taken up permanent residence in urban areas.

[2] Mambo was a title borne by the ruler of the Rozwi, a dominant people in these regions until they were shattered by the invasion of another Nguni group shortly before the arrival of the Ndebele.—The term *amaholi*, or *Holi*, often found in the literature, is rude, and has a strong implication of servility. The term Lozwi (Nd. *amalozwi*), derived from Rozwi, seems to be the most convenient term for this group as a whole.

[3] *Imihlobo*, sing. *umhlobo*.

from the Shona-speakers who were living in Rhodesia before Mzilikazi's invasion. But the concept of *uzimu*, with which I shall deal now, is found among all three castes; and substantially similar accounts of its operation were given by members of all castes. The majority of informants who dealt with the question in any detail, however, were Lozwi; so I am unable to give any estimate of the variation of beliefs or practice among the other two castes.

The Concept of Uzimu

The possibility of witchcraft is always present in Ndebele life. Any misfortune which befalls an individual may, in Ndebele theory, be due to the maleficent activities of a witch or sorcerer; and this applies particularly whenever a death occurs. But they certainly do not ascribe every death, or every misfortune, to such supernatural causes. That these can also be due to natural causes is freely admitted; and many Ndebele express the opinion that others are prone to ascribe to witchcraft things that are primarily the result of their own incompetence. But very few are willing to deny the possibility that sometimes witchcraft or sorcery may be at work.

It is very difficult to decide to what extent Ndebele distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery.[1] Witches (*abatakati* sing. *umtakati*) are universally detested, and they are said to indulge in certain specific practices. They wander around naked at night working evil by supernatural means; they frequently have familiars, such as ant-bears, on which they may ride, or which they may send to place harmful medicines near the homesteads of those whom they wish to harm. Witches are also said to gather at certain spots during the night; places which are known and avoided carefully after the fall of darkness.

But when one is discussing specific cases the reasons given for suspecting that such-and-such an individual may bewitch one, or has bewitched one, are almost invariably given in terms of the cause for the bewitchment. It is difficult to get individuals who fear that they are being bewitched to give the names of those whom they suspect. There is not only the fear of legal action under present law, but the additional fear that a direct accusation may serve to redouble the bewitcher's hatred. The usual answer to direct questions is in the form 'there is one who hates me', or 'one who envies me'. When discussing matters of witchcraft in general informants invariably stressed the point that witchcraft was to be feared from people who hated or envied one; statements to the effect that there are 'people who hate' (*abantu abazondayo*), or who are 'full of envy' (*bayapet' umhawe*),[2] usually denote that the speaker suspects witchcraft.

A direct question as to whether there are any witches (*abatakati*)

[1] Cf. Wilson, M. 'Witch Beliefs and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI, 4 (January, 1951), p. 309.

[2] Literally 'They are carrying envy'—Wilson, M., *Good Company*, p. 105.

in a certain district will often be answered with a statement that there are people who ' hate ' (*ukuzonda*) there, this being equivalent to an affirmative answer to the question. When asked directly whether *anyone* could bewitch, given sufficient cause, some informants answered that even if individuals do not know enough themselves, they can always seek out someone who would do the bewitching on their behalf—this may or may not be a rationalization —most informants were not so specific, and seemed in many cases to consider this a foolish question.

The type of retaliation against witchcraft known as *uzimu* [1] can seemingly only be employed when the bewitchment has caused a death. An individual who has died is normally buried the same day. After the earth has been replaced over the corpse, stones should be piled on the grave, and then branches of thorn trees. It is said that normally no vigil is kept at the grave, as is done among such peoples as the Cewa.[2] But early the next morning two of the deceased's close agnates (preferably his or her brother and son) should visit and inspect the grave. If the branches have been disturbed during the night this suggests that the dead person died as the result of witchcraft ; if they are undisturbed this suggests that he died from natural causes.[3]

If the grave has been disturbed, something must obviously be done about it. A ' doctor ' (*inyanga*) should be called to throw the ' bones ' (*amatambo*, actually wooden dice carved in conventional patterns). Among the Lozwi section of the Ndebele no linguistic distinction is made between diviners and other types of medical specialists ; all are known by the term *inyanga*. The type of diviner known as *isangoma* is found only among the two immigrant castes (Zansi and Enhla), and Lozwi informants almost invariably speak of calling in an *inyanga* (a word that I shall here translate as ' doctor ') when divining has to be done. The usual method of divination practised by these doctors is ' throwing the bones ' (*ukutshaya amatambo*).

This bone-throwing may reveal further information about the cause of the death. But the doctor also performs, in the majority of cases, another ceremony known as ' striking the grave ' (*ukutsaya iliba*). At dusk, he, with the brother and the son of the deceased, should visit the grave ; the doctor should strike the grave with a stick and call out the dead person's name, and then say, ' Wake up. Go and fight for yourself ' (*Vuka. Uyozilwela*).

What is supposed to happen then can perhaps best be understood

[1] See footnote, p. 39.

[2] Cf. Marwick, M. G., ' The Social Context of Cewa Witch Beliefs ', *Africa*, XXII, 2 (April 1952), p. 215.

[3] I was unable to discover what happened when the action of witchcraft had been ' proved ' by a divination before death, but no sign of disturbance was found at the grave. Neither was I able to establish what was the minimum degree of physical disturbance considered necessary to prove the action of witchcraft.

by paraphrasing the statement of one informant. The person whose grave has been struck then ' wakes up ', and appears in the form of some animal, say a hare (*inteletja*). He runs to the homestead of whoever has bewitched him, and stands in the courtyard (*iguma*) ; until finally some inhabitant of the homestead sees him, calls out ' there is a hare ', pursues him with dogs, and kills him. When they return they find that one of the inhabitants of the homestead is sick, and this person will die the same day.

In such a case the cause of death is what is known as *uzimu*. If those whom it is affecting suspect that *uzimu* is at work, they may call a doctor of their own to try and ' close the *uzimu* ' (*ukuluvala uzimu*). But doctors willing to attempt this are rare, as if their medicine is not strong enough to close the *uzimu*, it will merely leave the family of the bewitcher (*umloyi* or *umtakati*) and ' enter among the family of the doctor ' (*luzangena enyangeni*). If the *uzimu* is not closed, members of the bewitcher's family will continue to die ; but the *uzimu* will not affect the bewitcher himself, as he (or she) will have medicine.[1] It may in this way kill many people in many homesteads.

If the *uzimu* cannot be closed, the only course left open to those it is affecting is to approach the people who originally sent it, and ask them to take it away. They should go to the homestead of the dead person, or his heir, and ask them to take the *uzimu* away, admitting that one of their group was responsible for the original killing by witchcraft. Normally the people who sent the *uzimu* will only take it away when the others pay a large number of cattle.

So runs the description of *uzimu* given by one Ndebele. Whenever a large number of deaths occur in one family there is always the possibility that *uzimu* is operating as the result of some kinsman's or kinswoman's indulgence in witchcraft. Not only agnates can be affected, but other cognates and affines as well ; informants state that one can be affected as a result of the activities of any of one's *izihlobo*, a general term covering all types of kin, including cognates and affines who are relatively closely related to one, and with whom contact has been maintained.

It should be possible to decide by divination whether a death is due to natural causes, to simple witchcraft, or to *uzimu*. But not all diviners are equally skilled, and not all individuals are willing to accept a diviner's statement that a death had been caused by *uzimu* when they themselves suspect witchcraft. In contrast to the situation among the Azande, to which reference is made above, deaths due to *uzimu* cannot be revenged by sending back another *uzimu* ; or so say informants. One does not, therefore, get the

[1] I give the statement here as I recorded it in my notes from the description of one informant, and have made no attempt to offer ' rational ' elucidations of various parts of the statement. This description agrees well with other statements that I heard on the subject of *uzimu*.

situation where 'everyone is satisfied at avenging his kin, and nobody is any the worse off.'[1]

Further witchcraft can be employed by the original bewitcher against those who sent the *uzimu*, admittedly, but this bewitcher is not the person whom the *uzimu* strikes. The others who are affected can only protect themselves by 'closing the *uzimu* in some way';[2] and the best way of doing this is to persuade those who sent it to 'close' it themselves.

A clearer idea of the way in which *uzimu* is supposed to work may perhaps be obtained by considering an actual case history. The one that I give here refers to events that occurred some years ago. One advantage of this is that the incidents referred to in the story are now matters of past history, and it was possible to get a reasonable consensus of opinion about what was supposed to have happened. When dealing with more recent cases, where incidents such as deaths are still occurring, one is liable to get at least two stories; the family who are suffering the deaths muttering darkly about witchcraft, while outsiders may consider that the action of an *uzimu* is more probable.[3] There is the additional factor that Ndebele are very loth to discuss witchcraft cases still in process of development which affect themselves with anyone outside their own immediate family circle, or with the doctor or doctors they consult professionally.

This story is based on an Ndebele text,[4] which records the history of this case, in the manner in which numerous Ndebele believe things to have happened. I have re-worded and enlarged the text to clarify a number of points that might otherwise seem obscure to English-speaking readers, and have also added a certain amount of information that was acquired as a result of enquiries made after the text was recorded. But the story is given here in substantially the same form as in the text, in which it is assumed that both witchcraft and vengeance magic are possible.

The Story of the Uzimu

The story starts in the year 1930, in the homestead of one Gideon Tjuma,[5] who was then living in the neighbourhood of Gwanda.

[1] Evans-Pritchard, *loc. cit.*

[2] This might appear to conflict with my earlier contention that to the Ndebele it appears probable that anyone who has a grievance against someone else may bewitch him. I am not, however, primarily concerned here with producing a logical schema covering all aspects of Ndebele witchcraft beliefs. My principal aim is to try to throw some light on the Ndebele concept of *uzimu*; I therefore report what I have been told about it.

[3] Cf. Wilson, M., *Good Company*, p. 102.

[4] I am grateful to my one-time interpreter clerk, Elliott Mpofu, for obtaining and recording this text.

[5] I have changed the names of individuals and places, for obvious reasons. The second names which I have given to individuals are Surnames (*izibongo*), which are inherited normally in the paternal line; these I have altered also.

Living with him in his homestead was his sister's son, Abel Tjuma.[1] This is a situation which is found relatively often, of an individual living with his mother's brother; and it may arise when the father of a child for some reason omits to pay bridewealth (*amalobolo*) in respect of the child. Both these men were married; Gideon having two wives, uterine sisters of one another; while Abel had one wife and two daughters, named Ruth and Sarah. At this time Sarah was fifteen years of age, and Ruth nineteen.

Ruth sickened and died. Abel, having his suspicions about the cause of this death, set out for the east to seek a doctor who could inform him accurately whether or not she had died from witchcraft; it being known that many great and truthful doctors are found in the east. He found a suitable doctor who informed him, from information obtained by throwing the bones, that his daughter Ruth had been killed (i.e. caused to die through bewitchment) by his uncle's second wife (*umalumake ongumfazi; umfazi kaGideon omncinyane*—literally, his female mother's brother; the little wife of Gideon).

Abel, on hearing this news, begged the doctor to accompany him to his home, and there to strike Ruth's grave [2] so that 'she might wake up and be revenged on those who had killed her'. To this the doctor agreed, and accompanied Abel back to Gideon's homestead.

On his arrival Abel approached Gideon, and told him of his intention to ask the doctor to strike his daughter's grave; but he said nothing of what the doctor had told him about the cause of the girl's death. The mere fact that he intended to perform the grave-striking ceremony was sufficient to show that it had been put down to witchcraft. Abel then asked Gideon to enquire among his wives to see if any of them could throw any light on the question of how Ruth had died.

No detailed information was available about Gideon's reactions to the interview. It is recorded that he went and asked his wives if either of them had had any hand in causing the death of Abel's daughter. They both denied any knowledge of the matter. Gideon then returned and told Abel that he might instruct his doctor to carry on with the ceremony.

The doctor then struck the grave in the prescribed manner, calling on the spirit of Ruth to arise and be avenged on her bewitchers.[3] After this it is said that he told Abel that nothing

[1] Among the Lozwi section of the Ndebele people are permitted to marry others who have the same Surnames as themselves, since the possession of a common Surname does not in itself imply close agnatic relationship. The fact that Abel had the same surname as his mother's brother might be due to chance, or he may for some reason have adopted the Surname of his mother's group. I was unable, unfortunately, to get precise information on this point.

[2] See above, p. 33.

[3] The plural form is used here to give something of the spirit of the Ndebele text and statements. In these references to bewitchers are almost always in the plural, having something of the sense of 'the group of the person who bewitched'.

need be paid yet, but that payment could wait until those who had caused Ruth's death paid compensation. Then the doctor returned to his own home in the east.

Shortly after this Abel left his mother's brother's homestead, and went and founded a new homestead of his own some distance away ; a matter of over twenty miles. It was at this time that the relations of Gideon began to get sick. It began with one of Gideon's own sons, a boy of ten, who sickened and died. Not only people living in Gideon's homestead were affected. Deaths also occurred in at least three other homesteads nearby in which relations of Gideon or his wives were living.

At least eleven people are known to have died in these homesteads during the time that the *uzimu* was in operation, as well as an unknown number of small children. In one homestead a brother of Gideon's died, and his mother (possibly Gideon's classificatory mother). Another brother lost four children. One of the sisters of Gideon's wives, who was living some ten miles away, lost three children. Gideon himself died some years later, while the *uzimu* was still operating ; and the fact that one of his wives' agnates (a classificatory brother) who had lived for some years in Gideon's homestead went mad was put down to the same non-natural cause.

In the year 1932 two of Gideon's wives' classificatory brothers, Saul and David Inyati (the latter being the one who subsequently went mad) began to suspect that something was wrong, as they noticed that their children were constantly sick. They went to a doctor, who threw the bones and told them that they were ' killing themselves ' (*ukuzibulala*). They then sought the advice of another doctor, who told them the same thing ; but in this case they were specifically told that there was one of ' their ' women who had killed Abel's child, and that the troubles to which they were now subject were caused by the *uzimu* which had been invoked by Abel's doctor. They then remembered Abel's remarks to Gideon before the doctor had struck Ruth's grave.

They then called a meeting of all Gideon's relations who lived in the district, and at this meeting asked his second wife if she had any hand in Ruth's death. At first she denied that it was anything to do with her. But the others persisted, urging her to speak the truth, and finally threatening physical violence if she continued her denial. She then agreed that it was she who had brought about Ruth's death by witchcraft. They then decided to call Abel and ask him to remove the *uzimu*, agreeing to pay him compensation for the death of his daughter.

Abel was called and came, and they talked to him of the matter. He said, ' I will not take my *uzimu* away until you are all finished.' They continued to beseech him, until he said that he would remove the *uzimu* if they gave him twenty head of cattle. At this Gideon's kinsfolk cried out, saying, ' We have lost so many people by this

uzimu and you still want twenty cattle.' Abel answered them, saying, ' Very well, I shall go away and leave my *uzimu* here.' But after further discussions he agreed to remove it if they gave him ten head of cattle.

These cattle were paid to him by Gideon, and Abel then said that he would remove the *uzimu*. But instead he went with the ten cattle to the east, gave them to his doctor, and asked him to make the *uzimu* stronger than before. This the doctor did.

It was at this time that Gideon died, in the year 1938. Noticing that they were still subject to sickness and death, his relations again sought a doctor who could ' close ' the *uzimu*. It was the doctor to whom they went that told them that it had been made stronger than before. They then tried to get Abel to come and discuss the matter, but he refused. So they reported the matter to the chief.

The chief sent his messenger (*isikonzi*) to summon Abel to his court, and there asked him to remove the *uzimu*. Abel agreed to do this, and said that he would get his doctor, and appear with him before the chief. Gideon's son, Isaac, was sick at this time, and Abel told them to bring him to the chief's court when he brought the doctor to ' close ' the *uzimu*.

On the appointed day they all met at the chief's homestead; Abel with his doctor, Isaac the sick son of Gideon, and many others of Gideon's kin. What happened then caused great wonderment in the country. Abel said that he would say nothing, but that ' my daughter who was killed by you will speak '. He then gave medicine to Isaac, who straight away began to speak like a woman, in a high voice, saying, ' I am Ruth whom you killed. Today I wish to go with my father. I am tired of eating the blood of people (*amagazi abantu*). Now I have finished all your people, Gideon; I want you to make some reparation to me, and give me twenty head of cattle, and also a person in my place '.[1] While the voice was speaking, Abel and his doctor said not a word.

On hearing this Gideon's people answered, saying that all their cattle were finished, and that they only had fifteen head; nor had they a person that they could give. It was finally agreed that they should pay fifteen head of cattle, and five in the place of the person, making a total of twenty head of cattle.

Then Abel and his doctor went to the place where Ruth was buried and ' healed ' the grave; after which they told Gideon's people that they need fear no more, because the *uzimu* had been

[1] In the Ndebele version of this speech which I have, the final words are given as ' *lingipe—umuntu wokuhamba engibelete uma kungenjalo kangihambi* '. This could be translated ' give me a person to move in the world bearing me as otherwise I cannot move in the world of men '. I have refrained from a discussion of the possible implications of this remark, as this would involve an investigation of a large number of beliefs about the after life and possession of living human beings by the spirits; beliefs which are not adequately understood, and so cannot be simply summarized. In any event, no person was actually ' given ' in this case, as can be seen from the text.

taken away. From this time forth Gideon's kin knew better health and died in the same manner as all other people. Abel himself died in the place to which he had moved in the year 1951.

Conclusion

This history does not explain everything about Ndebele beliefs regarding the technique of vengeance magic known as *uzimu*; but it does record something of what a large number of Ndebele believe to have happened in one case when *uzimu* was invoked. Ndebele informants explained that, although the general pattern of the operation of the *uzimu* was what one would expect, the time between the first invocation and the final settlement (which occured in 1939 or 1940) was unduly long. They claimed that normally those who know themselves to be attacked by *uzimu* would strive to have it 'closed' much sooner, fearing that if this could not be achieved they would 'all be finished' in a short while—but in many cases in which I have heard the possibility advanced that *uzimu* might have been the cause of specific deaths the original death which could have caused its invocation had occured far more than ten years earlier.

It should be noted that the Ndebele speak of *uzimu* as an impersonal force. Admittedly, there is a direct appeal to the spirit of the dead person in the 'grave striking' ceremony; and in this case the spirit of Ruth is alleged to have claimed to have been the cause of the deaths among Gideon's kin. But in answer to direct questions informants invariably made a distinction between the spirit (*umoya*) of the person killed by witchcraft and *uzimu*. *Uzimu* was not a person, nor an ancestor-spirit (*idlozi*); it was a thing, it was *uzimu*. There was, they admitted, a personal element in the original direction of the *uzimu*, but the killing was actually done by the *uzimu*, not by a person.[1]

The impersonal nature of the force comes out to some extent in the belief that if a doctor, who was himself not involved in any way with the case, made an unsuccessful effort to 'close' the *uzimu*, it would then enter into his family and start to kill his relations. In this context it should be noted that some informants used the word *ngozi* apparently as a synonym for *uzimu*. This is a word of Shona origin (it must be remembered that about three quarters of the modern Ndebele nation are descended from Shona-speaking ancestors), which Bullock claims is used in the sense of a revengeful spirit, not an impersonal force. But when directly questioned those

[1] An examination of the etymology of the word *uzimu* would suggest some strong connection with the idea of ancestor spirits. Cf. *umzimu* (pl. *imizimu*), ancestor-spirit, spirit (said by Bryant to be now obsolete except in such phrases as *inkomo yomzimu*, or *yemizimu*, the beast of the ancestors; *izimu* (pl. *amazimu*), ogre or cannibal; and also the Shona *mudzimu* (pl. *Midzimu*), ancestor-spirit. See Bryant, A. T., *A Zulu-English Dictionary*, Mariannhill Mission Press (1905), p. 729; Doke and Vilikazi, *Zulu-English Dictionary*, Johannesburg (1948), p. 894.

who use this word in the sense of *uzimu* claimed, as did the others, that *ngozi* was distinct from the individual whose death it was invoked to revenge. It seems possible that this may represent a case of confusion of two once distinct concepts ; a similar situation is found in the lack of distinction made by many Ndebele between the two types of supernatural beings known as *tikoloshe* and *umkobo* ; some informants claim that they are two quite different things, many that they are two words for the same thing.[1]

The incident of possession in the final scene of the case that arose from Ruth's death is to some extent an extraneous element. It is not an invariable accompaniment of the settlement of a dispute of this nature, and informants stated that it was something which people had not expected to happen in this case. Its intrusion here is interesting in view of the important part that various forms of possession play in the ritual and mystic beliefs of the Lozwi section of the Ndebele, and of the Shona.

It is extremely doubtful if an attempted teleological explanation with reference to kin groupings would really give us any better insight into the significance of vengeance magic in this society. We can summarize the main facts about the kinship ties between the people principally involved in a few sentences.[2]

The person whom Abel believed to have killed his daughter was his mother's brother's wife, and at the time at which the daughter died he was a married man living in his mother's brother's homestead. This may possibly give us some clue as to the types of tensions normally likely to arise in this society. The people who were held to be affected by the *uzimu* included both cognates and affines of the individual believed to be the bewitcher. Of the four homesteads in which deaths attributed to the *uzimu* occurred one was Gideon's own, two were those of his brothers, and one that of a man who had married the bewitcher's sister. The bewitcher's brother (or classificatory brother), Saul Inyati, feared lest his people should be affected, but is said to have defended his family successfully by mystical means, being himself a great doctor.

Wilson remarks that among the Nyakusa witchcraft is normally only considered to be effective against people living in the same village as the bewitcher, while among the Pondo it is people living in the same homestead as the sufferer who are usually suspect.[3] She cites accusations between a mother and a daughter-in-law living in the same homestead as one of the most common types in this last society. The case with which we are concerned here would seem almost to conform to the Pondo pattern in this respect ; except that it was not a daughter-in-law but a husband's sister's son who suspected Gideon's wife. Unfortunately, it was impossible

[1] Cf. Kohler, *The Isangoma Diviners*, pp. 35, 37 ff. ; Bullock, C., *The Mashona and the Matabele*, p. 224.

[2] See also Fig. I, p. 44.

[3] Wilson, M., *Witch Beliefs and Social Structure*, p. 309 f.

to get any information as to what type of conflicts, if any, were evident within the homestead group before Ruth's death.

The compensation to 'close' the *uzimu* was paid on the first occasion by Gideon, on the second by a group described as 'Gideon's people'. There were some conflicting statements by informants, but the balance of the evidence is that the agnates of the bewitcher produced no cattle with which to pay the second compensation given to Abel; in the first case Gideon alone gave cattle.

Unlike the situation among the Azande there is little to suggest that the use of vengeance magic in this case tended in any way to reinforce the unity of unilineal kin groups.[1] This may well be connected with the fact that among the Ndebele unilineal kin groupings of wide span do not emerge as important elements in the social system. Close kin ties with non-agnates who live nearby and with whom contact is maintained are of far greater importance in the vast majority of contexts than agnatic ties with distant kin who live some way away. The group who were affected in this case by the *uzimu* were a kindred centred around the person of the bewitcher, in some cases closer to the person responsible for calling down the *uzimu* than to her; and it is noticeable that all the homesteads in which deaths occurred were within a short distance of each other. In this connection it should be noted that the brother (or classificatory brother) of Gideon's wife who feared that his family might suffer but avoided losing any of them was not only a great doctor, but also lived some ten miles away from Gideon's homestead. The fact that Abel himself moved immediately after the striking of the grave also may, or may not, have some bearing on the question of how much the *uzimu* was considered to be localized.

There are certain other similarities and differences about the Ndebele ideas about *uzimu* and Azande beliefs about vengeance magic which may be noted in passing. In the case of the Azande vengeance medicines were formerly placed on the grave, and when an oracle states that a person has died as a result of vengeance magic the owner of this medicine is asked to recall and destroy it, so that it can do no more harm. But among the Azande the vengeance of magic seemingly seeks out and destroys the witch, and does not first attack his or her kin, who may well be innocent, as among the Ndebele.[2]

Another difference from the Azande situation lies in the fact that the counter-measures possible against *uzimu* do not seem to include mystical types of retaliation. The supernatural attack of witchcraft can be countered by the supernatural retaliation of *uzimu*. But once this *uzimu* has been invoked those against whom it is operating can normally only go on to the defensive, as far as

[1] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, p. 418.
[2] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Clarendon (1937) pp. 389, 542 ff.

mystic counter-measures are concerned. Ndebele are willing to admit that an *uzimu* could be ended by a very good doctor without the consent of those who had invoked it, and presumably the original witch could continue to bewitch those responsible for it. But in this case it would only result in the bewitcher's own group being subjected to further attacks by *uzimu* after each death among the other group.

There is no sign of a pattern in which 'everyone is satisfied at avenging his own kin (by supernatural means) and nobody is any the worse off'. It seems that normally the Ndebele feel that there are definite limits to the ramifications which such campaigning on the supernatural plane can achieve. Questions as to how one should deal with an attack by *uzimu* call forth the reply that it should be 'closed' as soon as possible, and this normally involves a transaction in the 'real' world namely the payment of compensation to the group responsible for the invocation of the *uzimu*.

Another point of interest about the operation of *uzimu* is the number of people who can become involved. Earlier in this study the point was made that Europeans frequently tend to regard witchcraft as a process which, on the mystical plane, operates only in one direction; which calls forth 'physical' resentment from the person who believes himself to be bewitched; and which is primarily an issue concerning two people. From an examination of the case history given here it can be seen that not only were the immediate families and Gideon's wife involved; a number of doctors were called in by both sides, and Abel took action against, and was confronted by, not only the bewitcher, but also a large number of her kindred who had become involved in the mystical retaliation which he had invoked.

It was through this group of her own kin that pressure was brought to bear on Gideon's wife to admit that she had caused Ruth's death by witchcraft, and it was this group who begged Abel to end the *uzimu*. In all discussions of this question the importance of this self-accusation by those believing themselves to be suffering from *uzimu* was brought out. They must first establish which of their own people have been practising witchcraft against those who had evoked the *uzimu*, and should then go to the latter and admit the fault of one of their own number before begging those who had called the *uzimu* into action to 'close' it.

It may well be, of course, that this pattern of expected behaviour is to some extent conditioned by the present law relating to accusations of witchcraft against other people. But it is interesting to compare this situation with the emphasis laid on self-accusation among the Nyakyusa. There, when an individual is attacked by what the Nyakyusa term 'the breath of men', which has many resemblances to a justifiable use of witchcraft, he can be cured by reforming his ways and giving a feast to the people of his village. But if the cure is to be effective it is essential that 'the men of the

village *should admit their responsibility* for the sickness and express hopes for the recovery of the patient '.[1] Elsewhere it is stated that when a witch repents among the Nyakyusa he or she is no longer considered a danger to the village, but an asset, and that ' the admission of guilt is taken as a sign of repentance '.[2]

In the case of Gideon's wife there was a similar emphasis on the necessity for her to admit that it was she who had caused Ruth's death. After she had made this confession there is no record of any further action having been taken against her.

It might appear that *uzimu*, which can be invoked in retaliation for any death attributed to witchcraft, could provide a complete and adequate substitute for the physical means of retaliation possible before the imposition of a European code of law. It is, however, quite impossible in the present state of our knowledge to say to what extent it does actually fill the gap that was left when such physical forms of retaliation were forbidden. Too little is known about the extent to which it is used today, the extent to which it was used in pre-European times, or about Ndebele attitudes towards this and other types of retaliation against witches in general.

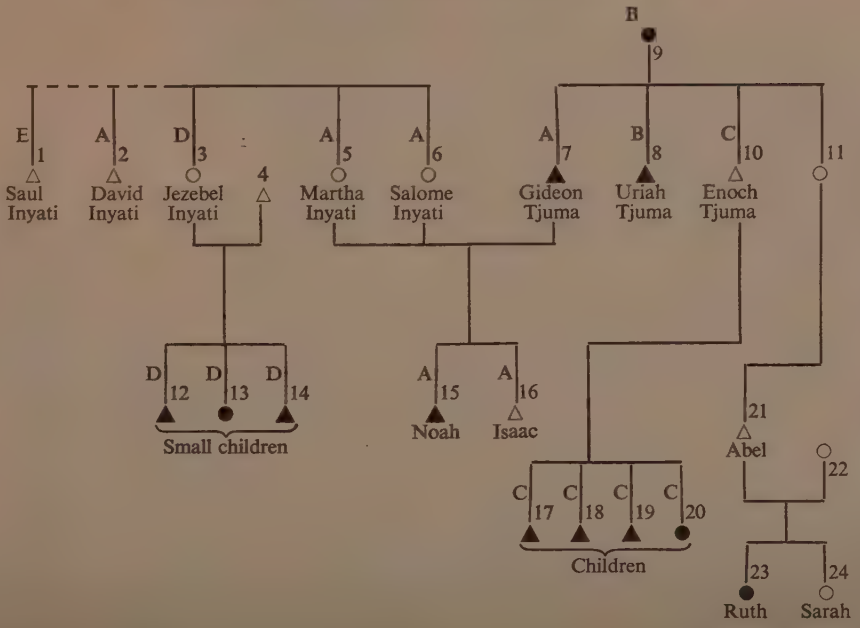
Any statement about whether or not ' everyone is now satisfied ' at being able to avenge his kin by supernatural means would involve subjective judgments as to whether or not people were, in fact, ' quite satisfied '. No lengthy digression into modern psychological theory is necessary to show that such subjective judgments are just as likely to be completely wrong as they are right. Alternatively, it could be argued that such statements are largely meaningless unless some indication is given of the criteria used to measure this satisfaction. Laymen, if not social scientists, have appreciated the dangers of such naïve psychological generalizations for a considerable time, so it hardly seems necessary to labour this point further here.[3]

The most that can be said on this subject is that the Ndebele themselves say they do not consider that the possibility of using this type of vengeance magic in revenge for the bewitchment of their kinsfolk as an adequate substitute for the physical retaliation possible in earlier times. They complain that the European law protects witches, and many informants stated that it was generally known that the number of witches had increased considerably since the coming of European rule.

One final point emerges from this study. That is that further investigation of the witchcraft beliefs of the Ndebele, and of other similar Bantu-speaking peoples, in terms of this concept of *uzimu* is necessary. Logically it would seem that a firm belief in the efficacy of vengeance magic, and in the power of protective medicines,

[1] Wilson, M., *Good Company*, p. 101.
[2] Wilson, M., *op. cit.*, p. 112.
[3] Cf. Nadel, S. F., *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*, Cohen and West (1951), pp. 49, 191 ff., 197, 199 ff., 289 ff.

FIG. I.—GENEALOGICAL RELATIONSHIP OF PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS INVOLVED IN THE CASE OF THE *UZIMU*



NOTES ON THE CHART

△ = male: ○ = female
▲, ● = people whose deaths were attributed to the action of the *uzimu*.

Broken line (– – – – –) signifies that relationship may be that of full siblings, half siblings or classificatory siblings.

The person accused of causing the death of Ruth (23) by witchcraft was Salome Inyati (6), the younger wife of Gideon Tjuma (7). The capital letters (A,B,C,D,E) denote the different homesteads affected. Thus, Gideon (7), Martha and Salome Inyati (5 and 6), Noah (15), Isaac (16), and David Inyati (2) all inhabited homestead A: it was in this homestead that Abel (21), his wife (22) and his two daughters (23 and 24) lived before Ruth's death. Uriah Tjuma (8) and his mother (9) lived in homestead B; Enoch Tjuma (10) and his children (17, 18, 19, 20) lived in homestead C; and so on.

As regards location, homestead B was about one mile from A; C about one and a half miles from B; D about half a mile from C; and E was about seven miles from D and some ten miles away from A.

should give to the believers the confidence necessary to face the terror of witchcraft undismayed. The bulk of the evidence from the African continent suggests that in fact the people rarely know such relief from this constant terror. It remains to try and answer why this should be so.

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The temporary secretariat of the Institute is at Ozarra, Via Agbor, Western Nigeria.

UDEMEZUO ONYIDO
Secretary

BOOK REVIEW

Islamic Law in Africa. By J. N. D. Anderson. H.M.S.O. (London, 1954), pp. viii + 409. Price 50*s*.

This book is the record of a survey of the application of Islamic law in British Colonial Territories in Africa (and in the Colony and Protectorate of Aden). The author is concerned essentially with jurisprudence and much of his material deals with the degree to which Islamic law can be absorbed into the British legal systems in various parts of the Empire in Africa. The only part of the Federation covered directly by the survey is Nyasaland. In Nyasaland the African Moslem community is comprised mainly of the Yao and Professor Anderson confines his discussion very largely to them (except when he is discussing the Indian Moslems). Professor Anderson concludes that ' the Yao are extremely ignorant of their professed religion ' but that the observances of certain acts of conformity ' confer a certain sense of superiority and are regarded as a passport to Paradise '. This opinion of an acknowledged expert on Islamic law we must respect, but in the anthropological field there are clearly some important problems arising not so much from the impact of Islam on a matrilineal society, a problem at which the author hints now and again, but from the impact of a matrilineal society on Islam. To what extent *can* a matrilineal society absorb the teachings of the Prophet without weakening its own foundations ?

This book clearly will be useful to administrators and legislators though the Handbook which the author promises us will clearly serve this need more efficiently. As far as this survey is concerned it would have paid, I think, to ask an anthropologist to read through those sections of the proofs dealing with tribal peoples. Some unfortunate statements might have been avoided. For example one sentence reads : '. . . the Yao are extremely ignorant of their professed religion and their sex morals by any European or even Islamic standards, are extremely lax.' This seems naïvely to presuppose a one-to-one deterministic relationship between religious beliefs and sex morals, a presupposition I am sure the author does not intend to imply. Again the author writes : ' There are perhaps, some signs of a greater recognition of Islamic law by certain chiefs in matters of divorce, and a certain tendency for matrilineal succession to make some concessions to the claims of the deceased's children ' (p. 170). We are left with the uncomfortable feeling that the author attributes these changes in succession to the influence of Islam. Yet the Yao were Islamized nearly a century ago and these changes are only recent. On the other hand we know that

matrilineal peoples in other parts of Africa and elsewhere, where Islam has never penetrated are showing the same changes. Islam is possibly a factor in these changes among the Yao but if Islam is only ' skin-deep ' as the author avers, then we must assume it is only one factor among many others. If Islam is a factor of sufficient importance to influence the system of succession can it then be ' only skin-deep ' ?

These naivities annoy the anthropological reader though they are clearly marginal to his main text. Nevertheless they could easily have been avoided.

J. C. M.

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